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ABSTRACT

Five working papers in linguistics and education are presented. "The Mediators: Providing Access To Texts in English in a Semi-Urban Maharashtrian College Community" (Grace Plamthodathil Jacob) examines the teacher's role in mediating cultural awareness as part of English second language education in a multilingual, non-western society. "Gender Distribution of Negative Judgments" (Dom Berducci) examines how male and female college students make negative judgments, and discusses possible sociolinguistic rules for the use of such judgments. "Distance Learning and Second Language Acquisition: The Role of Input and Interaction" (Thomas Hickey) suggests that distance learning might be a fruitful area of inquiry for second language learning researchers. "Educational Alternatives for Elementary School Students in Spanish-Speaking Communities" (Daphne Katranides) considers four educational programs available to elementary school children of Spanish-English bilingual communities in the United States. "Literacy in Brazil: For What Purposes?" (Marcia Montenegro Velho) discusses the structures and roles of two literacy programs implemented in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s, one built on the work of Paolo Freire and the other on the Brazilian Literacy Movement. (MSE)

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From the Editors:

The purpose of Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL) is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in WPEL are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

It is our intention that WPEL will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. WPEL is sent to nearly one hundred universities worldwide.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

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The Mediators:
Providing Access to Texts in English in a semi-urban Maharashtrian College Community

Grace Plamthodathil Jacob

Ahmednager College, affiliated with the University of Poona

This paper is based on an ethnographic study of the enactment of an English curriculum in a semi-urban Maharashtrian community college in western India. It addresses the issues of cultural competence and cultural continuity in second language education in a multilingual, non-western society. Systematic investigation of classroom behavior reveals the role identity that learners expect and teachers maintain in the classroom in response to the language learning situation. As mediators, teachers are observed providing access to English texts in a traditional culture of rephrasal and narration. Jacob perceives implications for developing the learner's communicative competence from a passive to an active level of classroom interaction, i.e.: restructuring, if it is to take place, must have its origin primarily in the community's self-inquiry and deliberations directed towards existing cultural competence; and any attempt to restructure the curriculum make demands on existing cultural competence.

Introduction

In addressing the problem of accessing academic texts in English by second language readers, linguistic studies have been essentially 'text-bound', focusing on: 'simplification and adaptation' (Beck et al., 1984; Bhan, 1988), 'readability counts and formulae' (Bormuth, 1973; Klare, 1977), 'selection criteria lists' (Huus, 1971; Wallace, 1986) and others. Regarding cross-cultural features of the code, some studies recommend cultural accessibility of written texts in relation to their decodability from a second language reader's point of view (Johnson, 1981; Steffenson et al, 1979). Pathak (l988) provides contextual evidence of such decoding studies with specific reference to Maharashtrian college students. In a more recent study, Sharma (1990) provides an elaborate 'pragmatic model' for the teaching of literary texts in a second language learning situation and some of the culturally sensitive components are identified as 'topical accessibility', 'inclination accessibility' and 'credibility accessibility'.

While the above studies provide useful resources for text de-construction, they remain context-free speculations being based on assumptions of an ideal, universal, autonomous second language reader who is not very different from a native reader in cognitive style. By overlooking cross-cultural variations in text negotiation, the larger reality of traditionally upheld attitudes to written texts and modes of accessing them, particularly in developing non-western societies is unrepresented. In contrast, anthropological accounts of school success or failure operate on the premise that context-specific interpretations transcend the assumptions of uniform cultural arrangements by relating linguistic and cognitive performance to the contexts of interaction. Anthropological accounts also provide sequentially organized, culturally significant patterns of social behavior (Diaz, Moll and Mehan; 1986). By tracing academic skills to the origins of cultural transmission, new meanings are constructed for explaining what is understood as communicative failure. A growing body of research in this tradition focuses on issues related to cultural congruence/ incongruence of social participation in classrooms (see Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Erickson and Schultz, 1982; Heath, 1982; Ogbu, 1987; Philips, 1973 and others). In the field of second language education and literacy there is a focus on contexts for language learning that has shaped goals for language teaching which are pragmatically and socially variable (see Hornberger, 1989, 1990; Watson-Gegeo and Ulichny, 1988). Looking beyond linguistically defined parameters for text negotiation towards socio-cultural factors and contexts, the diversity of educational situations is discovered.

Focus and Methodology

This study addresses the issue of second language learning as contextualized by traditional teaching styles, and cultural competence within academic communities as a social reality. The two sets of analyzed texts used for this study yield verbal behavior in the classroom which reveals the scope of the instructional activity. The instructional activity is then seen to serve as an indicator of language learning options. Supporting evidence is provided in the form of information from interviews with teachers and through personal experience as a team-teacher in the academic community. The study has implications for curriculum planning and dissemination from a community-oriented view. This paper contends that any attempt to restructure the curriculum makes demands on existing cultural competence in the form of knowledge, skills, beliefs, attitudes and roles.

The motivation for this study stems from futuristic concerns for 'restructuring' the English curriculum at the university level. These concerns are shared by members of curriculum planning bodies in the context of a felt need to revitalize classroom learning processes in Juana. Most piece-meal attempts result in conflicts between esoteric curriculum prescriptions and cultural continuity of day to day life in classrooms.

The observations presented herein are based on data drawn from an extensive field-study (see Jacob, 1988) in a semi-urban community college in Maharashtra, directed towards a description of existing 'cultural competence' which Goodenough (1971) defines as a 'system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating and acting.' It may be equated with Hymes' notion of communicative competence (Hymes, 1972), wherein members of a community are found to possess the knowledge of appropriate speech in terms of a set of rules regarding "when to speak, when not to speak, where and in what manner" (Hymes, 1972). Hence contexts of verbal and non-verbal interaction serve as indications of the larger culture that a speech community maintains and preserves.

The data is contained in the form of field notes of participant observations and interviews, audio-recordings of classroom interaction and site documents over a period of three years of systematic ethnographic study.[1] The research focuses on: (a) contexts for classroom decisions and (b) patterns of classroom interaction. The

Accessing texts: contexts for classroom decisions

Developing societies continue to maintain a remote access to the written text and the unfolding of its mysteries is entrusted to 'learned' teachers or 'gurus' as gatekeepers of knowledge and wisdom (cf., Osterloh, 1980). The physical reality of educational contexts in India provides supportive evidence for this observation. For example, the University of Poona governs over a hundred affiliated colleges serving the rural communities in which they are located. The overwhelming number of colleges partly attests to the strong faith that most developing communities hold in viewing education as a means to social change.

Ahmednagar College, located in the rural district center of Ahmednagar town represents one of the progressive colleges of the University of Poona. It draws a large body of rural students from nearby villages and towns who compose seventy percent of the college population. A significant proportion of students are urban; they are children of industrialists and military personnel who hold transferable positions in industrial corporations and in the army respectively. They represent linguistic communities of a diverse nature from across the country and are fairly fluent speakers of English as a national language which they cultivate in the national network of 'central schools' and 'convent schools' run by Roman Catholic organizations. Yet another urban faction of the population is local Maharashtrian students, residents of Ahmednagar town.

In the multicultural learning environment of the classroom, the sub-culture of the rural learner has a predominant influence on classroom decisions and the pace and style of teaching. Coming from regional schooling backgrounds they possess a fair amount of passive knowledge of English as a third language. My conversations with them were often in a mixed code of Hindi, Marathi and English. Rural students often invited me to their villages for important festivals like 'hurda' which marked a stage in the ripening of the staple crop, 'jowar' (sorghum) or 'pola', the festival of the bullocks. It was in the context of these interactions that I was able to gain insights into a rural student's identity in the college community. The following is an excerpt from one of my case studies.[2]

#M.4.1[3]

> One afternoon in December, we are seated under a shady Babul tree by the jowar fields of Shivaji Mhaske's ancestral farm. The sun is mellow on the ripening ears of jowar and gushing water from the pump floods the canals that run around the fields. Mhaske and his brothers are roasting the jowar on the coal fire while we converse with his father and a few elders who have come to entertain us city folk. We sit in a wide circle relishing the freshly roasted jowar spiked with Chili and dipped in yogurt. Mhaske's mother is inside the farmhouse with the other womenfolk brewing hot strong tea for the guests. A short distance away in a shed the bullocks rest peacefully chewing while most of the activities are centered around the 'hurda party.
>
> Mhaske's father tells me that his farm is doing well and will one day be inherited by his son. The education of his son is costly considering the time that he spends away at the college twenty miles away. Mhaske commutes daily on his bicycle. Sometimes he takes the local bus, but it's expensive and so are his western trousers and manilla

> shirt and sandals. He wants me to use my influence to gain admission to the college hostel (residence hall). He tells me that here there is no facility to study after dark. The single bulb which illuminates his home sheds a dim light and in any case by the time he is through with his chores at the farm he is too tired to study. His father does not comment but I can see that he has reservations.

Some of the other students commute from even greater distances by bus. The college hostel houses over five hundred students and many needy students are unable to afford the cost of housing and living in the town not to mention the cost of books and stationery. It is a common sight to see rural students with 'the bare minimum ' which is usually two or three notebooks clutched in their hands while walking across the campus to their classes. Satchels or bags are not a usual accessory considering that there is not much to carry by way of books. I decided to look more closely into how Mhaske and his friends used these bare academic resources.

> #M.8.3
>
> Mhaske and his buddies sit together, closely huddled attentively listening to the teacher. In response to appropriate cues from the teacher, they enter detailed paraphrases of textual content systematically presented in the form of dictated notes. The pages are filled with tiny letters that I can barely read. No space is 'wasted' for margins on the sides or at the top and bottom. The book must stretch for the entire duration of the course if possible. As they listen they are unable to catch some of the teacher's words, they peer into each other's notebooks or leave blanks to be filled in later. I notice numerous spelling mistakes and incorrect sentences . Occasionally the students would ask the teacher to spell out the words or repeat sentences.

> #M.8.13
>
> I ask Mhaske when he plans to buy his text book for the course. He is not sure. He feels he can make do with a copy from the college library whenever he can manage to get hold of one. He complains that there aren't 't enough copies to go around. In any case the teacher gives good notes and between him and his buddies there is at least one copy of the book. What he definitely will buy later, close to examination-- towards the end of the year are 'bazaar notes' based on the most likely questions. Then he can prepare thoroughly and is quite confident that he will pass.

It is common knowledge that students do not read the prescribed texts in the context of the existing pattern of examinations and evaluation . Teachers bemoan the situation but feel helpless. The biggest threat are 'bazaar notes' and private tutors who run parallel classes.[4] As for the examination questions, they are fairly predictable and content-based, requiring an understanding of the main ideas and character sketches within a closed set of possibilities. Over the three years that a text is prescribed by the university sufficient indirect sources of support become available to the student in the form of 'notes' which the teacher may have dictated to the previous class and 'bazaar notes'. The answers that they produce are learned by rote and almost identical, but accepted as a minimum requirement for passing. A sizable amount do not meet even this requirement and the rate of failures in general English courses remains high, ranging from 30 - 50 percent on the average.

Accessing texts: Patterns of classroom interaction

An attitude of resignation and pragmatic confrontation is resonant in the teaching community as they fall back upon traditional skills for classroom behavior appropriate to the context and a common culture of expository teaching of written texts. The primary concern expressed among teachers was to make the content accessible as a secondary resource given the fact that most students could not access the text directly. In the expository mode, the student listens while the teacher systematically negotiates the content line by line in a sequence of loud reading, paraphrasing and explanations[4]. At other times the teachers dictate notes based on anticipated content questions for the annual examination. The dictation of notes would often stretch for the entire length of the class hour and into subsequent hours (J:1; J:2:J5) [5]. The teacher's role appears to be mediatory as he/she provides interpretations of textual content to match the learner's level of comprehension in an arbitrary but experiential assessment of communicative competence. Difficult concepts are simplified through paraphrases or translations into Marathi orHindi depending on the teachers linguistic background and familiarity with the regional language.

The extracts from three analyzed segments of teacher talk are reproduced below. The segments are self-explanatory in terms of the categories of analysis i.e., communicative acts and topical sets. Communicative acts are informative and topically sequential in relation to textual content. Attempts to elicit student responses do not really signal verbal interaction but silent acknowledgement of negotiation on behalf of the students. It is also a way of checking on the listener's attention in the process of mediation as a rhetorical device. The segments represent the teaching styles of three teachers who varied in age and experience but were found to adhere to a common culture of text exposition. Providing access through mediation between textual content and assumed comprehension by learners becomes apparent in the steady sequence of alternations that the teachers use in collective meaning negotiation. Paraphrases are lengthy accounts of the textual context into which the actual lines of the text fit and serve as cohesive devices for collective understanding. At another level, paraphrases provide the context for the teacher's personal style in oration in 'driving home' textual meaning and significance. For example, in sample B3, the teacher has a humorous aside, true to his reputation for combining fun with learning, when he refers to John Osborn's poem. Sample B9 represents a fairly senior teacher well known for discipline and firm action. The lesson on toddy drinking is a fitting context for his oration, considering that the teacher was morally inclined towards promoting abstinence in the academic community. A younger and more contemporary teacher is represented in sample B7. She was obvserved trying to hold the attention of a large science class of over sixty students. I could sense an element of haste as she proceeded quickly with the text negotiation in her effort to manage her students well known for their restlessness in the English classroom. [7]

Sample B9

Topic: 'A pair of Sandals' by C. Rajagopalachari

9.8	(Reads)	Our cobbler hamlet too was well in the clutches of the toddy tavern until the year relief work began.	Informs
9.9	(Defines)	. . . cobbler hamlet is a very small village	Informs
9.10	(Paraphrase)	this Manyanoor is a small village and the cobbler community there was in the clutches of the toddy tavern . . . that is, - - most of them were in the habit of drinking toddy . . . . and that is the reason why this particular social welfare committee, so to say, was concentrating its attention on this village.	Reinforms (with back reference)

9.11	(Reads)	Then at our insistence they went to pledge total abstinence and they have on the whole kept their word.	Informs
9.12	(Paraphrases)	These people approached them they got the elders of the cobbler community . . . . they brought them together . . . . they had a talk with them . . . . they explained to them the situation they were in. . they told them the harm that comes out of drinking toddy . . . . and how by abstaining from drinking . . . by keeping themselves away from this particular drink . . . . how they can improve the condition of their life. . . . that's how after a good deal of explanation. . . . these people agreed to stay away from this particular vice. . . . which is drinking.	Reinforms (with back reference)
9.13	(Reads)	But now something happened. . M– came to my house one Thursday leading a group of his fellow cobbler villagers	Informs
9.14	(Paraphrases)	So M- is one of the important people there. . . . he comes to see Raja gopalachari . . . . he reports or complains that some people in the village have broken their pledge. . . . have gone back on their words and they have drunk toddy. . . So Thursday was their day for taking grain from the ashram at half price . . . . now . . . . from this sentence you get a certain idea . . . . Thursday was their day for taking grain from the ashram at half price	Reinforms (with back reference)
9.15	(Rhetorical Questioning)	what does this sentence suggest? (pauses for five seconds.) . . . . were the villagers so simple as to pay attention to the words of the relief workers that after some explanation they agreed to leave this dirty habit? . . . . were they so simple? . . . . what	Elicits

		made them take the pledge? (mumbled response from group) yes. . . . that is they were given the incentive that. . . . if you don't drink today. . . . we will supply you with food grains for half the market price. . .	

Sample B8

Topic: 'The Mosquito' by D. H. Lawrence

8.34	(Reads)	. . . . you turn your head towards your tail . . . . (repeats) . . . you turn your head towards your tail	Informs
8.35	(Paraphrases)	. . . . the simple paraphrase of this would be . . . . . the mosquito moves on . . . . suddenly it looks back . . . . not perhaps like John Osborn's poem . . . . look back in anger (laughter) not in anger but with a smile	Reinforms (with back reference)
8.36	(Rhetorical questioning)	. . . . now this smile as you have noticed is not a very simple smile. . . . in other words . . . . when the mosquito turns. . . . his head towards his tail . . . . and just smiles what does that smile indicate? . . . . It could be ironical. . . . it could be just mischief	Informs
8.37	(Reads)	How can you put so much devilry into that translucent phantom strain of a frail heart?	Informs
8.38	(Rhetorical questioning)	What kind of a person is this? Is there a simple answer to that?	Informs

Sample B7

Topic: "India's contribution to World Unity' by Arnold Toynbee

7.14	(Rhetorical questioning)	so what is unique about getting this freedom? . . . . Here was Ghandji a unique individual a special man who showed us a way of getting freedom. . . . not through bloodshed but through non-violence . . . . as a result he got freedom for this country. . . . who gave the	Reinforms

		freedom? . . . . in this case the Britishers . . . . they were able to step out without disgrace. . . . with a great deal of saving of face	
7.15	(Reads)	There was not much dishonour involved unlike much of the different wars that are fought . . . I should say that Ghandhji's service to my country has been much less than to his country	Informs
7.18	(Explains)	I do not think this is an exaggeration . . . . Ghandhiji saved Britain as well as India . . . . and he did this . . . . by inspiring the people to keep the struggle at a spiritual plane . . . . Arnold Toynbee stresses this aspect of the spiritual Ghandhi . . . . he was able to show that in a frenzied world . . . . we need to have time to contemplate. . . .	Informs
7.16	(Reads)	Non-violent revolution is I should say a characteristic accomplishment . . . . it is very much Indian	

Discussion

By relating patterns of classroom interaction to their contexts, cultural continuity in language education is demonstrated as a process of support and maintenance of cultural competence that members of the community share in a given socioeconomic situation. Under the circumstances where rural learners are first generation college students for whom the text is only remotely accessible, it is not possible to assume that autonomous interaction of learners with academic texts can be taken for granted as culturally valued. The students of semi-urban or rural college communities in India bring into the classroom traditional values and attitudes toward learning in general. They entrust teachers, the knowers, with the responsibility of serving as mediators between the text as coded knowledge and its seekers, the students.

What is obvious is that the receptive language learning in the context of oral/aural communication supported at a passive level of second language proficiency. Restructuring the curricular experience for creating successful/desirable language learning environments needs to be perceived as a systematic cultural reorientation, not overlooking the pragmatic constraints of contexts in which educational communities in developing countries are placed. When viewing learning communities as societies in transition, our efforts to restructure should be focused on academic processes rather than products in which real-life people act on the basis of their own knowledge and experience. Further, our concern for restructuring the curriculum in a top-to-bottom operation is challenged by existing teacher culture, which has the powerful potential of rejecting and translating new ideas into old ways of perceiving.

Old ways of doing serve as the take off point in developing learning societies for educational planning and promoting teachers and students as the custodians of cultural competence. A community-based, developmental approach would aim to trigger culturally appropriate processes of collaborative self-inquiry in which teachers and students jointly deliberate over desirable learning situations. This necessarily implies a fairer distribution of power and authority to make curricular decisions and/or restrictions on blanket curricular prescriptions from central decision making bodies at the University level.

As an ethnographic investigation this study has limited its scope to the question of why people in a developing multilingual society do what they do in accessing texts in English as a second language. These findings reflect on the need fto address cultural competence as a basic issue for research and development in second language acquisition. Understanding the diversity of cultural situations and ways of second language instruction could provide the theoretical basis for a pluralistic model of second language learning.

---

[1] I am grateful to the faculty and students of Ahmednagar College for permitting me to conduct my observations and for sharing with me their concerns

[2] Both group interviews and individual case studies contributed to the study. Classroom and follow up observations extended to the family and home situations.

3 Citations of the type (#M.4.1) refer to individual case studies and represent excerpts from the larger body of data.

[4] 'Parallel classes' is a form of self employment used by retired teachers and unemployed teachers in their homes. It is also not uncommon for serving teachers to conduct 'coaching classes' as an additional means of income.

[5] During longitudinal observations of face to face interaction in the classroom, fourteen audio-taped sessions were analyzed and cited as Texts B in a series

[6] Citations of the type (J;1, J:2, J:3) refer to compiled reports of journal notes for note-dictating sessions.

[7] The corpus of data contains analyzed texts of all the seven teachers in the English department during the period of the study.

[8] This paper was presented at the Twelfth Annual Ethnography Forum Conference, February 22-24, 1991.

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Gender Distribution of Negative Judgements

Dom Berducci

This paper examines how negative judgements are distributed across gender. A negative judgement is defined as a speech act in which the overt semantic content is generally negative and it is directed at either the self, a person other than the interlocutor, or some object. Subjects for the study are drawn from the university community. Examples of Negative judgements are collected in the field and analyzed. The paper then discusses some possible sociolinguistic rules for the use of negative judgements.

Introduction

Compliments, Apologies, Greetings and other speech acts have been widely discussed in the Sociolinguistic literature. Negative Judgments, the subject of this paper, have neither been adequately discussed nor defined in the literature. In this study a very general definition of a Negative Judgement is offered:

> A Negative Judgement is a speech act wherein: 1) the overt semantic content is generally negative; 2) the overt semantic content is either directed at: a) the self; b) a person other than the interlocutor; or c) an object, which has some negative effect on the self. The main function of Negative Judgements is not to transmit overt semantic content, but to open conversations and to maintain solidarity.

The combination of gender and speech acts has received little scholarly attention in the sociolinguistic and anthropological literature. Some early studies looked at the differences between men's and women's speech in non-western societies but not until the early 1970's were there any systematic empirical studies of western societies on the topic. These studies began to break the sexual stereotypes that initially slowed research in this area.

The type of research into this area varies depending upon one's purpose. It appears that, aside from the sociolinguistic research, most interest in this area has occurred in second language pedagogy. For the second language teacher and the second language textbook writer, the results of speech act and gender research has very practical applications, in that this research consists of actual speech acts recorded in situ from real-life social situations, and therefore can be meaningfully applied to second language learning.

Second language students made aware of this data through class instruction, as well as through the reading of texts, can be better prepared to interact socially, using actual rules of speaking discovered through speech act research, rather than using either the teacher's or text author's linguistic norms, as usually has been the case. Applying the data from speech act research to class activities results in students being exposed to actual social situations. In the past, application of actual data usually has not occurred, making treatment of real world situations problematic in ESL classes. Second language students have always confronted instructors on this issue, questioning why it is that they have heard a particular linguistic form and at the same time find this form proscribed by the text or teacher. The present study and others that are similar make data available to teachers and text writers that can avert this problem.

In addition to the aforementioned classroom practicalities, there is a larger issue at hand. ESL workers have an obligation to make second language students aware of American values and norms through the study and application of actual speech behavior. This allows the student, if he or she so desires, to participate in social interaction "...appropriately and effectively..." (Hymes, 1962: 101). An awareness of speech acts enables the second language student to possess a linguistic repertoire consisting of actually existing alternatives which, to the advantage of the student, could increase both his/her communicative competence and grammatical competence.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, each additional speech act that is isolated and analyzed reveals sociolinguistic rules for its use, and knowledge of these rules will certainly increase knowledge about ourselves. This knowledge also can potentially increase intercultural communication and therefore mutual understanding.

Background

This study sets forth a preliminary analysis of gender and negative judgments. Gender is included since it is "One of the most important, and until recently, least studied, variables conditioning speech behavior..." (Wolfson, 1989: 10). Negative judgments are identified and analyzed in this study since in the author's experience at least, they are salient speech acts that have received very little attention in the past.

Gender has been viewed as a social variable that affects speech as far back as 1959, in Edward T. Hall's groundbreaking The Silent Language. Jesperson (1922), in his work on language, includes a chapter entitled "The Woman", but the analysis contains little or no empirical evidence for the findings. Even though gender in this context has been investigated for a long time, empirically verified studies of gender and speech are still relatively rare. Lakoff's 1973 study, though not empirical, provided the impetus for a series of gender research articles. Enough criticism was generated by Lakoff's introspective study that this "...challenged other scholars to design and carry out empirical studies to test them [introspective notions about gender and language]." (Wolfson, 1989: 164).

Crosby and Nyquist (1977) carried out an empirical test of Lakoff's hypotheses, and they found in part that both males and females use the 'Female register', which they characterize as 'client speech' (1977: 320). O'Barr and Atkins (1980) found similar results in that it is the status or role relationship of the interlocutors, for example police/citizen, rather than the sex of the speaker, which affected speech behavior.[1]

The Negative Judgments as reported in this research are related to but not quite equivalent to Complaints or Disapproval as commonly reported in the literature. All three speech acts --Complaints, Disapproval, and Negative Judgements-- appear to be similar because they contain negative semantic information, but are actually quite different. Complaints are defined by Olshtain and Weinbach (1986) as speech acts in which: "...the Speaker (S) expresses displeasure or annoyance as a reaction to a past or ongoing action, the consequences of which affect the (S) unfavorably. This complaint is addressed to the hearer (H), whom the speaker holds responsible for the offensive action." (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1986: 195)

Olshtain and Weinbach include the following preconditions in this definition: a) S expects a favorable event to occur, e.g., a promise, or expects an unfavorable event to be prevented from occurring, e.g., a cancellation; b) some offensive act (A) results in having negative consequences for S; c) S sees H as responsible for A; and finally, d) S expresses frustration verbally (1986: 195). Disapprovals, in comparison, as defined by D'Amico-Reisner, were not explained so fully: "...scold, reprimand, rebuke, and reproach were found to share the common function of expressing disapproval." (D'Amico-Reisner 1983: 115, note)

In both Complaints and Disapprovals, the negative semantic content of the speech act is directed towards the interlocutor, as opposed to the Negative Judgement, where the negative content is directed towards the self (speaker), another person (other than the interlocutor), or an object.

Also, please note that both Complaints and Disapprovals utilize other speech acts as part of their definitions; for example, an unfulfilled promise can be part of a precondition for a complaint. In addition, it seems that, as speech acts, a 'scold' or 'reprimand' share the same function as a Disapproval.

Data Collection

Since it has been established that systematic observations of speech behavior yields important cultural information (Holmes,in press: 7), a list of specific goals has been formulated for this study to help foster systematic observation and analysis:

1. Collect the Negative Judgment data within the University of Pennsylvania Speech Community;
2. Formulate hypotheses;
3. Examine these speech acts primarily in relation to gender of speaker and interlocutor;
4. Examine the distribution of these speech acts according to speaker's gender as they relate to: A) Status; B) Discoursal structure [X N (R or 0)], [0 N R] (X = conversation before the Negative Judgement, N = Negative Judgement, R = Response to the Negative Judgement, 0 = no utterance; C) Intimacy (Intimate or Non-intimate); and D) Topic: 1) Self, 2) Other Person and 3) Other Object;
5. Induce and infer functions, distribution and classification types of the Negative Judgments from examination of the data;
6. Speculate as to the position of the Negative Judgments in the culture of the speech community as a whole.

The Negative Judgments were collected from conversations between Native American-English speaking members of the University of Pennsylvania speech community. This group consists primarily of the white middle class. The norms of use of Negative Judgments for this particular group will be the focus of this study. These speech acts were recorded by pencil and paper at three different locations to allow contact with a variety of participants and situations: 1) Houston Hall's Hall of Flags where many undergraduate students gather for lunch. The tables are situated very closely together, making conversations easy to record; 2) an ESL Program's teachers' room. This room is used in one day by approximately 14 teachers, all of whom have graduate degrees; 3) the waiting room at the University of Pennsylvania hospital. This location was chosen to acquire speech acts from the non-academic portion of the Penn speech community; and 4) the author's colleagues' homes.

In these situations the Negative Judgments were written down, along with any preceding and following utterances. Also the sex of the interlocutors, the apparent status of the interlocutors, the setting and the scene were noted.

Data Analysis

In speech act interaction studies, little attention has been paid to gender distribution. Upon a cursory inspection of the data, differential distribution according to gender seemed apparent, so that the current analysis is approached through differences in gender norm distribution. This distribution is viewed along with 5 other factors (goal number 4 above):

1. Interlocutor Status Relationship: high to low (h to l), equal to equal, and low to high (l to h);
2. Discoursal Structure: a) 'X N R' where the Negative Judgment 'N' is embedded between conversation 'X' and the response 'R' to the Negative Judgement, b) 'X N 0' structure where the Negative Judgment ends the conversation, '0' is equivalent to silence of some duration. This category is problematical, since the speech acts were hand transcriptions of spontaneous speech; sometimes the response to the Negative Judgement was lost or misrecorded. Therefore analysis and speculations is withheld on this structure; and c) '0 N R' where the Negative Judgments acts as a conversation opener;
3. Intimacy: 'I' indicating, intimate, a family relationship or 'N' a non-intimate non-stranger relationship. (There were no stranger interactions in the data.);
4. Topic of the exchange; and
5. Object of the Negative Judgments, which happens to be 'S', self, 100% of the time (see tables 1-6, Appendix A).

Four hypotheses were created based on readings in the Sociolinguistic Literature and on observations by the author. Since there were no directly related speech act data in the literature, some inferences were made. The four hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Expect females more than males to use Negative Judgments as a conversation opener. Conversation Opener here means to use a Negative Judgement to break a period of silence '0', e.g., [0 N R].

Hypothesis 2: Expect both females and males to have equal distribution when delivering a Negative Judgement to a person of higher status (h), equal status (=) or lower status (l).

Hypothesis 3: Expect females to deliver Negative Judgments more to intimates than to non-intimates.

Hypothesis 4: Expect females to offer more Negative Judgments than males.

Results

All four hypotheses were tested using the X^2 (Chi Squared) statistic. In testing Hypothesis 2, the Yates correction factor was used since the portion of the data used for this hypothesis had an 'N' of less than 5 in some of its expected cells. Each hypothesis result is presented, followed with some relevant post hoc comments.

Six dyad types emerged from the data: 1) FF (female to female); 2) MM (male to male); 3) FM (female to male); 4) MF (male to female); 5) FG (female to group); and 6) MG (male to group). The groups in dyad types 5 and 6 consisted of both males and females (See Appendix A, Tables 1 to 6 for further details).

Hypothesis 1-- More females than males are expected to use Negative Judgments as Conversation Openers. The data yielded no significant statistical difference between M or F opening conversations in all 6 types of dyads.

Post-hoc Comments:

Hypothesis 1 tested all 6 dyads as a whole. However, if we observe 2 particular types of dyad, FG and MG, the females in FG use the Negative Judgments as openers only 43% of the time. All of these occurred in a classroom setting delivered by a female professor. The males, in contrast, use this strategy 100% of the time, in the workplace setting and the Topic was always weather.

Hypothesis 2-- It is expected that both M and F would deliver equal amounts of Negative Judgments to both high and low status addressees. (i.e., the acceptance of the Null Hypothesis is expected). The results are that females deliver significantly more negative judgments to addressees of both high and low status (Yates $X^2 = 29.33$, $p < .01$).

Post-hoc Comments:

MM dyads--100% of the Negative Judgments were delivered to non-intimate equals.

FF dyads--80% of the Negative Judgments were delivered to high status addressees.

FM dyads--54% of the Negative Judgments were delivered to low status addressees, and 46% were delivered to equal status addressees. None (0%) were delivered to high status addressees in these dyads.

MF dyads--50% of Negative Judgments were delivered to high status addressees, 50% to low status addressees.

FG dyads--86% delivered from high to low, 14% to equal status addressees.

MG dyads--100% were delivered to groups of equal status.

Hypothesis 3 -- Expect females to deliver more Negative Judgments to intimates than non-intimates. This hypothesis is confirmed as females were found to give significantly more Negative Judgments to intimates than non-intimates ($X^2 = 10.16, p < .01$).

Post-hoc Comments:

FF dyads-100% of the Negative Judgments were delivered to intimates.

MM dyads-100% of the Negative Judgments were delivered to non-intimates.

FM dyads-15% to non-intimates, and 85% to intimates.

MF dyads-100% to non-intimates.

MG dyads-100% to non-intimates.

FG dyads-100% to non-intimates.

Hypothesis 4 -- Expect females overall to deliver more Negative Judgments than males. This was found to be significant ($X^2 = 14.32, p < .01$). While collecting data in the four locations mentioned above, there was an attempt to be positioned near an equal number of males and females for the data collection. The only time this was impossible was in the instructors' room in Bennet Hall at the University of Pennsylvania, where there is a higher percentage of females teaching in the morning , which is when the data was collected (60% F vs. 40% M).

Post-hoc Comments:

Of all dyad types, the 3 types that have female initiators (speakers) rank as first, second and third:

FM	35%	of the total # of Negative Judgments
FF	27%	"
FG	19%	"
MM	11%	"
MG	3%	"
MF	5%	"
TOTAL	**100%**	

Additional Post-hoc Comments

FF dyads

All of the Negative Judgments in these dyads were delivered between status unequals. Twenty percent (20%) were from high to low status, while the remaining 80% were from low to high.

In 10% of the cases, the Negative Judgments were embedded in the conversation and received a response (all data collected is listed in Appendix B, the numbers indicating the order of data collection). For example:

19. X
a. **"It was awful, she was a nervous wreck."** N
b. "Yeah" R
Female, 35, single, talking to mother about a family member, low to high.

Another 10% consisted of the Negative Judgments positioned at or possibly cueing the end of the conversation:

20.
a. "Daddy went to turn me and the needle was in me bent and I was screaming and daddy was crying." X
b. **"It was an awful spot"** N
a. "huh" R
Female, about 60, response to daughter, in hospital waiting room, high to low.

In the remaining 80%, the Negative Judgments were preceded by silence [0], i.e., a break in the conversation was followed by a Negative Judgment and a response [0 N R]. Conversation Opener seems to be a main function of the Negative Judgments in these dyads. All of these FF exchanges took place in the University of Pennsylvania Hospital post-operative waiting room.

On different days there happened to be three pairs of mothers and daughters who provided the Negative Judgments. Males were present in about equal numbers to the females but no Negative Judgments were provided by the males during the observation time. The three pairs of mothers and daughters that were observed were overtly worried about someone in surgery and conversation seemed to be needed to alleviate tension and worry. The males seemed to be in the same situation but produced no Negative Judgments. Possibly, the males produced none for two reasons: 1) either they were not worried; or 2) do not express worry through Negative Judgments. It is possible that males have different uses for these speech acts.

All of the Negative Judgments exchanged in the FF dyad type were between intimates, i.e., mother and daughter. This relationship was verified through monitoring other information during the conversation.

MM dyads

One hundred percent (100%) of the MM dyads consisted of non-intimate equals. In contrast, 100% of the FF dyads were between intimates. All Negative Judgments in the MM dyads occurred after a period of silence [0 N]. In these MM dyads, the Negative Judgments appear to function as Conversation Starters. All of the males were professional colleagues. Seventy-five percent (75%) of the Negative Judgments' topics were about the workplace and the remaining 25% were about other people.

FM dyads

Fifty-four percent (54%) of the Negative Judgments were delivered to low status members, while the remaining 46% were delivered to those of equal status. None were delivered to a high status addressee in the FM dyads. Twenty-three percent (23%) of the Negative Judgments were embedded in the conversation [X N R] and the remaining 77% were preceded by silence [0 N R]. Again Conversation Starter seems to be an important function of the Negative Judgement. Fifteen percent (15%) were between non-intimates and 85% between intimates in this dyad type. Negative Judgments about Weather constituted 46% of the data, while Self was the topic 31% of the time, Objects were the topic 15% of the time, and Other Person was the topic 8% of the time.

MF dyads

In this small data subset (N=2), 50% each of the Negative Judgments were delivered to those of low status and high status respectively. Fifty (50%) of the Negative Judgments were embedded in conversation [X N R] while the other 50% followed silence [0 N R]. Both interactions were with non-intimates and the topic of the Negative Judgments were 50% Other Person and 50% Other Object.

FG dyads

Fully 86% of Negative Judgements in this dyad set were delivered to low status addressees and the other 14% to those of equal status. Again we see that females do not deliver Negative Judgments to higher status non-intimates. These addressee groups consisted of both males and females. Most of the Negative Judgments in this dyad type are conversation openers (0 N R). The topic of a majority of these Negative Judgments are about other people, but all of those were given by a female professor in a classroom context to students. Forty-three percent (43%) of the Negative Judgments were about other people, 29% concerned Weather and 14% concerned Objects. Seventy-one (71%) were followed by silence [N 0] and none were embedded in a conversation. All of the Negative Judgments in the FG dyads were between non-intimates.

MG dyad

This smallest of the groups consisted of 1 exchange between equal non-intimates. The Negative Judgment was followed by silence [N 0] and concerned the Weather.

Discussion

Negative Judgments appear to be used generally as Conversation Openers by both sexes. Seventy-three Percent (73%) of the total were used in this capacity. As Conversation Openers, they exhibit the general discoursal formula [0 N R] or [0 N 0], i.e., silence [0] followed by the Negative Judgement [N] and either a response [R] or further silence [0].

This function of Negative Judgments seems counter-intuitive as do so many of these data. In informal interviews with native speakers of American English about their use of Negative Judgments, they intimated that they did not use them much and if they did use Negative Judgments at all, they considered them impolite. Some claimed Negative Judgments were only used when they (the speakers) were in 'bad' moods.

After examining the entire data set as a whole, no difference was found between the sexes in using the Negative Judgement to open conversations. But when looking at particular dyad groups, females use Negative Judgments as openers to intimate (family) males more than any other dyad group, and males use Negative Judgments for openers mostly with male non-intimates. One way to interpret these results is to view the female as performing the traditional role of caretaker or solidarity enhancer of the family. The males on the other hand, seem to be attempting to establish solidarity outside of the family, also a traditional role; in a sense, they were 'networking'. Seventy-five percent (75%) of these male non-intimate interactions were Negative Judgments made at the workplace about the workplace. It may be a strategy that ensures job security or at the minimum increases conviviality at the workplace. As males treat Apologies differently than females (Holmes, in press: 7), it seems that males also treat Negative Judgments differently than females.

Even when Negative Judgments are used within a conversation [X N R], there can be a creation or reaffirmation of solidarity or sympathy. This is related to the fact that of all the Negative Judgments offered in this study, by both males and females, not one was rejected by the addressee, i.e., not one of the responses to any Negative Judgement was a disagreement with the content of the Negative Judgement. Therefore it appears that the speaker would not offer a Negative Judgment if there were an expectation of its being rejected.

So the speaker seems to expect empathy, because agreement with the Negative Judgement by the addressee means accepting that the speaker has some pain. This seems true especially since the initiator of the Negative Judgments (the Self) is always the one who is 'suffering'. For example, in a Weather Type:

2. 0
a. **"Phew it's cold"** N
b. (agreeing responses) R
Male, about 40, 7:45 a.m. before beginning to teach at 8 a.m., to all teachers present.

It is cold for the *speaker*, or in the following:

13. 0
a. **"This god damn thing"** N
b. "Why don't they get a new one?" R
a. **"They'll probably get the cheapest one"** N

b. (and others) "yeah" R
Female, 35, comment to other teachers waiting to use the photocopier.

The photocopier is a problem for the speaker. Through Negative Judgments, the speaker lets the addressee know of his/her negative condition and always, when responding, the addressee responds with agreement (a study of responses to Negative Judgments would certainly prove interesting). The rule seems to be: 1) deliver a Negative Judgment if you know there will be no disagreement, or 2) if a Negative Judgement is delivered to you (addressee) then a) agree or b) do not respond. Another way to view this is that one may only deliver a Negative Judgement to one that can be trusted.

A syntactic formula was strongly expected to be apparent in Negative Judgments, as is manifest in Compliments, since linguistic formulas increase expectation and decrease the chance of misinterpretation (Herbert, 1986: 3). A compliment is basically something positive about 'Other' or 'Other Object', while Negative Judgments have been found to be negative about 'Self', 'Other Person', or 'Other Object':

1. Self -	22%	of total Negative Judgments
2. Other Person -	38%	"
3. Other Object -	41%	"

The 'Self' category includes three subsets:
1) physical state Negative Judgments, e.g.,:

28. 0
a. **"Goddam I don't like my stomach feeling like this, it hurts."** N
b. 0
Female, about 30, to husband after she had operation.

2) self's possessions:

25. 0
a. **"It's all crummy. The kitchen floor is crummy. All of it"** N
b. "Wildwood" R
a. **"All those old blankets, I don't want them"** N
b. "I should throw them out" R
Female, about 35, to mother after break in conversation.

3) self's ability:

37. 0

a. **"I'm all thumbs when it comes to this"** N

b. (laugh) R

Female, about 40, professor, to male student 37, in class, about some equipment.

'Other Person' was found to have 4 subsets:

1) ability of other person:

6. X

a. **"It was cute but wrong"** N

b. 0

Female, about 40, comment to class about part of an analysis included in an article, high to low.

2) opinions and ideas of others:

35. X

a. **"They weigh and measure and rank but they really don't get to the bottom of what class is..."** N

b. "mmm" (class) R

Female, professor, about 40, to class, part of continuing lecture.

3) other's possessions, and

4) other's state:

19. X

a. **"It was awful, she was a nervous wreck"** N

b. "Yeah" R

Female, about 35, single, talking to mother about a family member.

Finally, the Other Object category contains two types of Negative Judgments:

1) workplace:

17. 0

a. **"When this thing works, it's a dream"** N

b. "Yeah, when" R

Male, 37, to female about 33, commenting on the photocopier which has been causing a lot of trouble recently.

2) the weather:

12. 0

a. **"Oh, it's so warm"** N

b. (few sounds of agreement from class,) R

Female, about 40, comment to class as a whole, as class was leaving.

Intuitively, it does not seem 'dangerous', i.e., there is no chance of losing solidarity between interlocutors, if an addressee misunderstands a Compliment (as opposed to a Negative Judgement). If the overt good will and solidarity of a Compliment were misinterpreted, it seems there would be more chance of it having positive consequences than the misunderstanding of a Negative Judgement because the latter has an overtly negative meaning. Superficially, the Negative Judgement is just that, i.e., negative, and hence the possibility of greater danger of losing solidarity. Because of this, the possibility of a stronger formulaic nature of the Negative Judgments seems logical, more than that of a Compliment, but this is work for further research.

Conclusion

Men and women may view Negative judgments differently. Men use them as enhancers of solidarity among non-intimates to possibly advance in the workplace. Women use them seemingly as enhancers of family solidarity. On a more general and inferential level, negative judgments are used by both sexes as a way to display vulnerability, to request sympathy, thereby increasing the solidarity between interlocutors.

Negative Judgments also function as Conversation Openers and Continuers with the purpose of creating or reaffirming solidarity with the speaker. In situations where more solidarity is needed, e.g., more insecure situations, as in the hospital waiting room, more Negative Judgments were used per unit time than in any location in the study.

Negative Judgments are certainly a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon, as are other speech acts, and this very basic initial study only hints at their complicated structure and function in society.

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[1] More recent research on direct and indirect complaints has been and is being done by D. Boxer of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

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Appendix A
Key to tables 1 to 6:

'N' = The number of speech acts
'ACT' = Speech act number as listed in appendix
'H > L' = Negative judgement was passed to low status addressee
'=' = Negative judgement was passed between equals
'L > H' = Negative judgement was passed to high stauts addressee
'X N R', 'X N 0', '0 N R' = Discoursal structures of speech act. 'X' = conversation, 'N' = negative judgement, 'R' = response, '0' = silence.
'I/N' = 'I' = intimate, 'N' = non-intimate, non-stranger
'TOP' = Topic of the negative judgement
    'O' = other person
    'S' = self
    'PL' = place
    'OB' = other object
'OB' = Object of negative judgement
    'S' = Self

Table 1
Female to female

N	ACT	H>L	=	L>H	XNR	XNO	ONR	I/N	TOP	OB
1	19			*	*			I	O	S
2	20	*				*		I	S	S
3	21			*			*	I	O	S
4	22			*			*	I	O	S
5	25			*			*	I	PL	S
6	26			*			*	I	OB	S
7	29			*			*	I	S	S
8	30	*					*	I	PL	S
9	31			*			*	I	O	S
10	32			*			*	I	O	S

Table 2
Male to male

N	ACT	H>L	=	L>H	XNR	XNO	ONR	I/N	TOP	OB
1	3		*	*			*	N	O	S
2	4		*				*	N	PE	S
3	18		*	*			*	N	PE	S
4	34		*	*			*	N	PE	S

Table 3
Male to female

N	ACT	H>L	=	L>H	XNR	XNO	ONR	I/N	TOP	OB
1	11			*	*			N	O	S
2	17		*				*	N	OBJ	S

Table 4
Female to male

N	ACT	H>L	=	L>H	XNR	XNO	ONR	I/N	TOP	OB
1	1	*					*	I	W	S
2	7	*			*			I	W	S
3	8		*				*	I	S	S
4	9		*				*	I	S	S
5	10	*					*	I	W	S
6	14	*					*	I	W	S
7	15	*					*	I	W	S
8	16		*		*			I	W	S
9	23	*					*	I	O	S
10	24		*				*	N	0BJ	S
11	27		*				*	I	OBJ	S
12	28		*				*	I	S	S
13	37	*			*			N	N	N

Table 5
Male to group

N	ACT	H>L	=	L>H	XNR	XNO	ONR	I/N	TOP	OB
1	2		*				*	N	W	S

Table 6
Female to group

N	ACT	H>L	=	L>H	XNR	XNO	ONR	I/N	TOP	OB
1	5	*					*	N	W	S
2	6	*				*		N	O	S
3	12	*					*	N	W	S
4	13		*				*	N	OBJ	S
5	33	*				*		N	O	S
6	35	*				*		N	O	S
7	36	*				*		N	S	O
8	37	*				*		N	S	O

Appendix B
Index of negative judgements

1. O
   a. **"Isn't it hot, Bruce? It's murder."**
   b. "Yeah, it is."

Female, 64, to male, 37, hot weather, change of topic after period of silence.

2. O
   a. **"Phew, it's cold."**
   b. (agreeing responses)

Male, about 40, 7:45 a.m., before beginning to teach at 8 a.m., to all teachers present.

3. O
   a. **"You know what I find really repulsive?** My Japanese students ordered hot dogs for breakfast. 'One hot dogs please.'"
   b. "You're just being ethnocentric."

Male, 37, 1:30 p.m., classmate, change of topic after period of silence.

4. O
   a. "Maybe you'll hear next week about the language exam."
   b. **"Well, the way things work around here, you know."**
   c. "Yeah."

Male, about 35, afternoon, A-17 Grad. Ed., response to greeting.

5. O
   a. **"It's hot in here, isn't it?"**
   b. (agreement from class)

Female, about 40, entering and greeting to class.

6. a. **"It was cute but wrong."**
   b. O

Female, about 40, comment to class about part of an analysis included in an article.

7. a. **"Miserable today, weather."**
   b. "No, not really."
   a. "For me it was."

Female, 55, to male, 27, phone conversation, continue conversation, h > l, intimates.

8. O
   a. **"Oh, don't you think it's terrible?"**

b. "What?"
a. "The Life."

Female, 38, to husband, 37, after period of silence, continue conversation.

9. O
a. **"Tired."**
b. O

Female, 38, to husband, 37, after silence, in car, comment about self, no response.

10. O
a. **"Pretty nasty out there."**
b. "Where?"
a. "Don't you hear it?"

Female, 54, to male, 27, rainy night, change of topic after period of silence, h > l, intimates.

11. a. **"Something as poor as this ...."**
b. "I don't think it's poor."
a. "Well, ok ...."

Male, 30, in afternoon class, commenting on ESL text to female professor, professor interrupts, and student continues and drops his original idea.

12. O
a. **"Oh, it's so warm."**
b. (few sounds of agreement from class)

Female, about 40, comment to class as class was leaving room, or to no-one in particular.

13. O
a. **"This goddamn thing."**
b. "Why don't they get a new one?"
a. **"They'll probably get the cheapest one."**
b. (and others) "Yeah."

Female, 35, in Bennet, comment to other teachers waiting to use copier.

14. O
a. **"It was hot last night. I had the floor fan on."**
b. "Really?"
a. "Yeah ...."

Female, 64, to male, 37, unusually hot weather, change of topic after period of silence, high to low.

15. a. "You didn't see it when it got real black?"
    b. "Yeah."
    a. **"Phew, it was awful."**

Female, 46, to male, 28, unusually hot weather, continuation of topic, 11-16 day of tornadoes in Philadelphia.

16. a. "Hi."
    b. **"My roof was almost blown off."**
    a. "Really?"
    b. "Yeah, I live near trees."

Female, 30, office, after Philadelphia tornado, first thing said in morning in response to greeting, = to me. This seems to be a complaint rather than a negative judgement. It was intonational with terms being negative only in context rather than explicit.

17. a. **"When this thing works, it's a dream."**
    b. "Yeah, when."

Male, 37, to female, 33, office, commenting on the photocopier which has been giving a lot of trouble recently.

18. a. "How did you make out with PARIS?"
    b. **"Terrible. It's awful, I had to make 5 calls."**
    a. "Really. I called 2 times then I called you for help."
    b. **"It's awful. It's not worth it."**
    a. "What does PAC mean on the explanation sheet?"

Male, 40, phone conversation, discussing the new registration system, male, male, equals.

19. (continuing conversation)
    a. **"It was awful. She was a nervous wreck."**
    b. "Yeah."

Female, 25, single, talking to mother about a family member, in hospital.

20. O
    a. "Daddy went to turn me and the needle was in me bent and I was screaming and daddy was crying."
    b. **"It was an awful spot."**

Female, about 60, response to daughter, in hospital waiting room.

21. O
    a. **"Christ, they're not even gonna come. It's 3 o'clock. What time is it?"**
    b. "3:30."
    c. **"I guess we're eating dinner here tonight."**

a. Female, about 35, to mother, waiting for someone.
c. Female, about 40, to mother and sister, negative judgement is intonational.

22. O
    a. **"I really thought they should do this earlier."**
    b. "Yeah."

Female, 15, to mother, 40, waiting.

23. O
    a. **"They're never home. Sundays, holidays, they could give a call."**
    b. O

Female, 60, to son, break in conversation, about relatives.

24. O
    a. **"This is a paper cutter that can't cut butter."**
    b. (laugh)

Female, 35, 8 a.m., office, to colleague, equals, non-intimates.

25. O
    a. **"It's all crummy. The kitchen floor is crummy. All of it."**
    b. "Wildwood."
    a. **"All those old blankets, I don't want them."**
    b. "I should throw them out."

Female, about 35, to mother after break in conversation.

26. O
    a. **"Aunt X's cat is so fat."**
    b. "The xxx one, right?"
    a. "No, the tan one, it's like ...."

Female, about 35, to mother after break in conversation.

27. O
    a. **"I don't like these chairs. Where'd they come up with an idea like this?"**
    b. "I agree."

Female, about 30, to husband, after she had an operation, equals.

28. O
    a. **"Goddam, I don't like my stomach feeling like this. It hurts."**
    b. O

Female, about 30, to husband, after she had an operation.

29. O
a. **“I'm getting a migraine.”**
b. “You too?”

Female, 35, to mother, in hospital waiting room.

30. O
a. **“We can't even have a cup of coffee.”**
b. “Hmmm.”

Female, 60-70, to daughter, 30-35, in waiting room, waiting for father to have blood clot removed.

31. a. **“All them interns used to talk to us. Here only doctors.”**
b. “Yeah, that's a learning hospital.”

Female, 60-70, to daughter, 30-35, in waiting room, waiting for father to have blood clot removed.

32. O
a. **“I remember when I got operated on. I was starvin', wasn't I, Mom?”**
b. “Yeah.”

Female, about 30, to mother, in hospital waiting room.

33. a. **“It was a giant step backwards in semantic analysis.”**
b. O

Female, about 40, to class, part of continuing lecture.

34. O
a. **“I'm getting tired of this class.”**
b. “Really.”
a. **“Yes, I've had enough.”**

Male, 37, to male, 37, at end of a class, equals, non-intimates.

35. a. **“They weigh and measure and rank but they really don't get to the bottom of what class is ....”**

Female, about 40, to class, part of continuing lecture.

36. a. **“He knows a lot about what's going on in South Asia, but it just doesn't show up in the work.”**

Female, about 40, to class, part of continuing lecture.

37. a. **"I'm all thumbs when it comes to this."**
    b. (laugh)

Female, about 40, to male, 37, in class, about some equipment, intimates.

Distance Learning
and Second Language Acquisition:
The Role of Input and Interaction[1]

Thomas Hickey

This paper suggests the field of distance learning as a fruitful area of inquiry for second language acquisition researchers. It first defines distance learning and differentiates it from both formal instruction and naturalistic learning. It then focuses on the roles of input and interaction in second language acquisition and discusses how a better understanding of these would not only benefit second language acquisition research but would also improve the quality of distance education when applied to language acquisition.

Introduction

In less-developed countries, the dissemination of educational resources is made difficult by various economic and geographic factors in addition to overarching political factors. It is not always feasible to provide traditional classrooms in all parts of a country due to the prohibitive costs of building construction as well as the difficulty of placing teachers in the more remote regions of the country. One response to this situation has been what is known as distance education. Through media such as print, radio, and television, educational instruction can take place in the most isolated areas of a country without the need for a school building or the placement of reluctant teachers to such areas.

The provision of this educational instruction has political and sociocultural implications for those being served. Best et al. (1990) examine a distance education system in Micronesia and make two important points. First, rather than having to travel to a distant locale to attend school, individuals can stay at home. Indeed, they may remain employed while pursuing their education. Also, in some communities, education is thought of as the possession of the more well-to-do or high status members. Making education accessible to more people will have some effect on such social structures.

Distance education, defined at its most basic level as the geographical separation of the teacher from the student, has been especially attractive to the field of language teaching. Language tapes have been popular for a number of years, promoted by self-instructional language courses whose developers feel they make a special contribution to language learning. For example, Dickinson asserts that self-instructional language learning develops personal autonomy and improves learning efficiency (Dickinson, 1987). This assumes, of course, that the leaner is amenable to this kind of learning style.

In some countries, language lessons are broadcast daily on the radio or television. But the question remains whether this method of education can be as effective as, or even less effective but an acceptable alternative to, formal classroom instruction. In order to better understand whether it is a practical alternative to more conventional methods, it is first necessary to understand the process of second language acquisition, at least to some extent, and to account for the variables that play a role in successful language learning.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to fully explain the complexities of second language acquisition or to account for all the variables that play a role in it. I shall focus my attention only on some of the literature that has explored second language acquisition in terms of input and interaction. I focus on these two factors because they are currently claimed to be relevant to SLA and are also directly relevant to the structure of distance education. The learner has no immediate access to a teacher and she depends solely on the input available to her through a particular medium. In addition, the absence of a teacher may mean the absence of any face-to-face L2 interaction, much less interaction with a native speaker of the target language.

It is also important to note at the outset that, by distance education, I am limiting my attention to the less complex technological delivery systems. There exist distance education systems that incorporate spontaneous two-way interaction between students and teacher via telecommunications satellites. Washor and Couture (1990) describe such a system that is functioning currently in southwestern New Hampshire. For the purposes of this paper, I want to focus on those delivery systems that are feasible for the less-developed countries. This limitation on the technology to be used, of course, has implications for the type of language curriculum that is to be used.

The Learning Environment

Any discussion of distance learning must first account for the special features of the learning environment. In the distance learning model, the input is delivered through a medium that separates the teacher from the learner. The environment defines the nature of the input available to the learner by channelling it through specific media. Thus, the attention of the teacher moves from instructional delivery, of prime concern in the classroom, to instructional design (Taylor & White, 1985). This has consequences for the nature of the input that the learner receives.

For example, since input from the native speaker (NS) to the non-native speaker (NNS) has been shown to depend on the NS's assessment of the NNS's level of proficiency (Gass and Varonis, 1985), this has implications for distance education, as the teacher is not present to perform this constant assessment. As a result, the input cannot be adjusted immediately to suit the learner.

Distance education, at least in the low-tech model that I am addressing, does not provide for immediate two-way communication, nor negotiation of meaning, both of which have been shown to provide comprehensible input (Pica, Young, & Doughty, 1987). But it does allow for modified input. So, although the medium of teaching prevents spontaneous negotiated input, it is possible to structure the input in such a way as to make it beneficial to the learner. In one study, Long (1985) prepared a lecture for a NS and the same lecture, slightly modified, for a NNS. He showed that modified input increased both the actual and perceived comprehension of the learners. Distance learning could make use of this by adjusting the nature of the input according to the level of the learner. Radio broadcasts and print materials could incorporate modified input to compensate for the lack of two-way communication.

Also, the fact that teacher and learner are separated does not necessarily mean that the learner cannot still act on the input. Zobl (1985) suggests that, despite limited input, learners are capable of projecting from this input to further develop their target language grammar. In his study, the benefits of exposure to marked linguistic forms projected onto unmarked forms. According to Zobl (1983), the learner's acquisition faculty must be able to project solutions about aspects of the target language with little or no evidence in the input. This Projection Model is an internal process, dependent on exposure to the appropriate input. Thus, although the teacher is separate from the learner, the learner is capable of bringing certain learning strategies to the task at hand.

Some studies have attempted to compare the effect of different learning environments on language acquisition. In a study comparing naturalistic, instructed, and mixed environments, Pica (1983) concluded that much of second language acquisition depended on learner variables and not on environmental or contextual variables. She found that each group of learners in the three different environments acquired certain morphemes in the same order. Thus, although the context of distance learning differs greatly from the formal classroom, it does not necessarily constrain language input to such an extent that learning becomes impossible. The contextual variables are less important than the learner variables.

However, the learner's approach to learning does change drastically due to the change in environment. Distance learning embodies a set of principles that are much more explicitly learner-centered than the traditionally teacher-centered classroom. Since its foundation is self-instruction, this makes it more akin to naturalistic learning than to formal instruction. One fear of a learning environment that is centered around self-instruction is that the learner will incorporate the errors of those around them while in the classroom those errors are controlled by the teacher (Platt and MacWhinney, 1983). But Gass and Varonis found that learners repair the deviant speech of other learners (Gass and Varonis, 1988). So, learners incorporated standard language forms and not errors. This finding suggests that the practitioners of the distance education model should not necessarily fear too much learners' incorporation of errors, provided that a group of learners is present who can repair each other's speech.

Regardless of how similar the naturalistic and distance education environments are, there remains a major difference between them. Naturalistic learning usually takes place in the target-language environment whereas distance learning does not. The learner is attempting to develop her L2 while around her, only her L1 is spoken. This has implications for the variable presence of L1-related errors.

Hsia did a study measuring the extent of L1 influence on SLA in a non-target-language environment (Hsia, 1986). She found that if the syllabus focused on TL content (e.g., business English) rather than TL form (e.g., communicative English), there were fewer L1-induced errors but more organizational errors. One reason for this, she suggests, is the lack of native peer input. The lack of target-language-speaking peers has an effect on the learner's acquisition process. According to Hsia, one effect might be a greater number of non-L1-induced, or organizational, errors. But the foreign language classroom must cope with this same situation. Thus, the lack of native peer input in the distance learning model may result in heightened difficulties at the macrolevel (organization of language) but not necessarily at the microlevel.

It is clear that distance learning must confront a delivery system that constrains the nature of language input and a language environment that minimizes teacher-student interaction as well as interaction with any native speaker. The question becomes: can successful language learning take place in such an input context? For some, this is not the crucial question. It is more important to know what degree of negotiated interaction goes on within any particular context as that will suggest the quantity and quality of input available for learning. In the following pages, I present briefly some of the arguments for and against interaction as being the most important variable in language learning.

The Role of Interaction

In the traditional classroom setting, researchers have found that interaction plays an important role in the acquisition of language. Studies have shown that modified interaction, or any negotiation of meaning between teacher and students, acts as an aid to processes relevant to language acquisition (Pica et al., 1986; Pica, Young & Doughty, 1987; Sato, 1986; Schmidt and Frota, 1986). In the Pica et al. study, interaction was shown to result in an increased quantity and redundancy of input and consequently an increase in comprehension. It remains to be shown, though, exactly how comprehension relates to acquisition, if at all. This corresponds to studies that found a correlation between the frequency of input and the acquisition of certain TL structures (Hamayan and Tucker, 1980; Lightbown, 1983).

Another claim is that interaction places demands on the learner to manipulate his interlanguage so as to conform more to the target-language model (Corder, 1978; Swain, 1985). Swain's Comprehensible Output Hypothesis stresses the need for learners to be given opportunities to express themselves in the L2. This helps them to test their hypotheses about the target language which they do by "pushing" their use of the language and manipulating L2 structures so as to structure the meaning they want to convey (Swain, 1985).

But other studies have shown that interaction is not a necessary condition for language acquisition. Learners who are less interactive acquire language just as successfully as those who are more interactive (Allwright, 1980; Ellis, 1985). Sato found that interaction may indeed improve performance but that it does not necessarily improve acquisition (Sato, 1984). Nicholas would say that the effects of interaction are variable (Nicholas, 1987). Learners with certain personality characteristics will possess specific interactional styles that result in the use of particular varities of the L2 in the course of acquisition. Some would argue that it is negotiated interaction as opposed to interaction in itself that makes a difference in language acquisition.

Some researchers have explored the idea that comprehension rather than interaction is the operative variable in language acquisition. Chaudron investigated the distinction between input and intake and suggests that the crucial step for the learner is in perceiving the linguistic form and encoding it, i.e., comprehending it, in such a way that it can be produced later (Chaudron, 1985). Faerch and Kasper argue that the role of comprehension has been overlooked in most discussions of input and interaction (Faerch and Kasper, 1987).

One language learning model which embodies these claims is that of Nagle and Anders (1986). They assert that by ignoring comprehension, a major aspect of learning is left unexplored. Drawing upon different models of language learning, they devise a model of learner comprehension that has specific pedagogical implications. Distance education could draw upon such a comprehension model more readily than on one that stresses spontaneous negotiated interaction.

Other studies have focused on how input is made more comprehensible for the learner (Dahl, 1981; Ferguson, 1975; Kelch, 1985; Long, 1985). For example, Kelch (1985) found that learners did better on dictation tasks when the rate of speech was slowed down. This understanding of comprehensible input could be incorporated easily into radio broadcasts. Despite this increased attention to comprehension, it has yet to be shown whether and how comprehension leads to better acquisition (Long, 1985).

The Role of Formal Instruction

The influence of classroom instruction is still not understood to any great extent. On the one hand, there are the studies that show learners in either the naturalistic or classroom context processing and constructing their interlanguages in the same way (Felix, 1981; Pica, 1983; Weinert, 1987). On the other hand, studies have found that there are differences and that instruction does help acquisition (Krashen, Jones, Zelinski, & Usprich, 1978). Distance learning is very interested in this debate because its success hinges on the fact that successful language learning can take place without teacher-led instruction.

It is usually taken for granted that formal classroom instruction has a beneficial influence on second language acquisition. According to some studies, formal instruction facilitates acquisition, if not immediately then at some future time (Sharwood-Smith, 1981; Stevick, 1980). This is the "interface" position that asserts that there is cross-over between conscious learning and internalization of L2 rules and features for spontaneous use. Seliger also found that learners who went after more input via formal instruction achieved better acquisition (Seliger, 1977). He found that the more practice a learner received from formal instruction, the more that learner progressed.

Ellis would caution that instruction is indeed effective in teaching formulaic speech and that scaffolded interactions led to learner incorporations of new input but not enough has been done to make any other conclusions (Ellis, 1983). Lightbown et al. compared learners who received formal instruction with those who received no instruction (Lightbown, Spada, & Wallace, 1980) Although the amount of instruction was minimal (3 hours), the researchers concluded that for the instructed group as a whole there was no significant increase in ability. Some individual children, though, did show marked improvement. This would suggest that learner variables do play an important role in language acquisition. It also suggests that these variables interact with different teaching methodologies in different ways.

Other studies have argued that instruction cannot change the acquisitional sequences of a language which occur naturally (Felix, 1981; Pienemann, 1987). Felix found that the ability to manipulate the learner's verbal behavior in the classroom is limited according to the principles of natural language acquisition. Pienemann agreed with this but noted that instruction can facilitate the rate of acquisition. Thus, the lack of formal classroom instruction in the distance learning model may slow down the rate of acquisition but it does not prevent learning from taking place.

Conclusion

What can be said, then, about distance learning and second language acquisition? Does distance learning provide for comprehensible input, which Krashen sees as essential to acquisition (Krashen, 1982)? As I have mentioned, radio and television broadcasts could make use of modified input to ensure that the learner receives a sufficient amount of comprehensible input. Does the lack of a teacher or a classroom mean that acquisition cannot take place? There is still a great deal that is not known about the effect of environmental variables on language acquisition. Evidence exists to support conflicting theories about interaction and about input.

One established theoretical claim is that comprehension plays a key role in acquisition. One factor in comprehension is the role of metalinguistic awareness. The learner is more apt to acquire language if she recognizes a gap in her knowledge and takes responsibility for filling it (Faerch & Kasper, 1987). This can occur either in the classroom or in a naturalistic setting, in a target-language environment or in a non-target-language environment. As long as the learner is able to comprehend the radio broadcast or the print material, then conditions for some acquisition to take place are available. It remains to be seen how much learners draw on such conditions to comprehend L2 meaning and to extract L2 rules and features.

Exploring this question would provide a rich source of research on input and interaction. In the distance learning model, the nature of input can be controlled as can the amount of interaction. A longitudinal field study comparing the distance learning model with the classroom model would contribute greatly to this area of SLA. More and more work has been done on the role of computers in education and how they might facilitate learning in lieu of teachers (e.g., interactive videodiscs) but this line of research would not be as relevant for education in the less-developed countries where low-tech solutions are called for. Instead, an inquiry into distance learning would require examining second language acquisition theory and determining whether and how distance learning provides the conditions claimed to be necessary for successful second language acquisition. It would add not only to current research on input and interaction but also contribute to the growing interest in education for development.

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Educational Alternatives for Elementary School Students in Spanish-Speaking Communities

Daphne Katranides

Katranides considers four educational programs available to elementary aged school children of Spanish-English speaking communities in the United States in this paper which is intended as exploratory and informational rather than as evaluative or advocative. She draws on work by Delgado-Gaitan, Garcia and Otheguy, Hornberger, and Kjolseth, among others to investigate the fit of the varied cultural characteristics of three major Hispanic groups with the English language learning programs available to them.

Introduction

This paper will consider some of the educational programs serving elementary school children of Spanish-English speaking communities in the United States. This is not intended to judge the most effective educational model for Hispanics, but instead, is an exploration of four different programs, how they fit into Hornberger's (1990a) typology of bilingual education, and, to some degree, how successful they are.

Bilingual Education literature distinguishes between assimilationist or transitional, maintenance, and enrichment models and between the various programs that can carry out the models. These models define, among other things, program goals and structure, including the degree to which program goals are carried out by the structure. Note that stated goals are not the same as practices or outcomes (Kjolseth, 1973). As Hornberger says,

> [t]his typological confusion has both contributed to the inconsistent results of bilingual education evaluation research and to some extent disguised the fact that U.S. bilingual education funds have gradually been redirected away from enrichment and maintenance (i.e.

developmental) bilingual education and toward transitional and even not-bilingual education programs (Hornberger, 1990a: 21).

In the consideration of program structures, a variety of elements are examined: 1) the use of languages in the curriculum, whether as the medium of instruction or as the subject of instruction, the sequencing of introduction to each language, both written and oral, and the degree of oral and literate development; 2) the use of languages in the classroom, whether they are used in alternate or mixed patterns and their functions (Hornberger, 1990a: 10); 3) the view of language held by the school and the students; 4) the view of culture by the school and the resulting use or non-use of cultural knowledge; 5) the program's place within the school; 6) and whether language education is one-way or two-way (Hornberger, 1990a:9).

In each setting, this paper looks at the contextual factors, both in the school and in the wider community. Among the contextual factors are items (1) through (6) above. Knowledge of these factors contribute to an understanding about the use of languages at home and in the wider community, the economic integration of the linguistic minority into the mainstream, sociolinguistic and socioeconomic factors, whether participation in a program is voluntary or mandatory, and the degree of parental and community involvement (Hornberger, 1990a: 9) contributes to the understanding of the program.

Lastly, where possible, this paper looks at the program's success, as measured by the degree of bilingualism and/or biliteracy that students achieve as a result of participation in the particular program. This is not always feasible, either because of the nature of the published information, or because the programs are still in the experimental stage and have not produced a large enough sample of graduates to consider. This could be an area for further research.

It must be noted that the programs included here are not representative of all the program types available to any one of the three Hispanic groups considered here, let alone to all Spanish-speaking children. There are innumerable programs, and these are only a few of those that have been published.

Separate Groups

Bilingual education programs cannot be looked at without consideration of contextual factors. Looking only at stated goals and program structures ignores the influence of socioeconomic and sociolinguistic aspects of a given educational environment. Solé notes that, while "language-minority persons who usually speak languages other than English have lower educational attainment and higher dropout rates than minority persons who usually speak English" (1980: 139), the situation is even worse for Spanish speakers. In fact, even those Hispanics who are English dominant have higher dropout rates and higher "school retardation" than other English-dominant language minorities (1980: 139). Consideration of programs by language groupings seems logical, but holds its own pitfalls.

Although Spanish-English bilingual programs are the most common in the U.S., any examination of these programs as a group is dangerous if accompanied by a view of Spanish speakers as a homogeneous group. While statistics about low educational attainment among Hispanics suggest that Spanish speakers are "at risk" and should receive some sort of remedial attention, the "Hispanic" group is not quite so homogeneous as might be assumed, and "treatment" of this group needs to take into account these differences.

Of the three main groups of Spanish speakers in the U.S., Mexicans[1], Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, Cubans seem to be the exception to the rule, as laid out by Solé. The Cuban population, smallest of the three groups, consists of older people relative to the Mexican and Puerto Rican populations of the United States. Cubans are also not as poor and hold a higher position in the job market. For the most part, this group is made up of political, and not economic, refugees. Cubans coming to this country have generally been well educated, and the children have followed their parent's example.

> Socioeconomic status influences and in many ways determines parental aspirations for the child's education, interest in and social pressure for academic achievement, standards for reward for achievement, knowledge of the child's educational process, preparation for attainment of educational goals, and the availability and quality of guidance on matters related to school work (Solé, 1980: 142).

Thus immigrants of high socioeconomic status from Cuba are more educated, have higher status jobs, earn more money, and ensure that their children succeed in school, thus ensuring in turn that they will also hold high-status positions and live at the higher end of the financial scale.

Another notable characteristic is that the use of Spanish is stronger among Cubans than among other Hispanics. Because language use correlates strongly with place of birth (Brown et al., 1980:4) this could be seen as a result of the fact that the Cuban group is still predominantly made up of first-generation members (García and Otheguy, 1986:5). Regardless of the cause of this Spanish dominance, it should be considered when planning educational programs for children from Cuban communities.

Although Cubans are notably different from other members of the "Hispanic" group, this is not to say that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are identical. Puerto Ricans generally live in more urban areas and there is also a great deal of contact between Island and Mainland populations. This cyclical pattern that characterizes Puerto Rican immigration results in linguistic continuity unlike that found in most immigrant groups (Hornberger, 1990b: 214).

When educational attainment of Mexicans is compared to the larger Hispanic category, Mexicans have a considerably lower percentage of high school graduates and a lower median number of years of school completed (García and Maldonado, 1982: 14-15). Additionally while advances have been made over time, the progress of Mexicans has not been as great as that of non-Mexican Hispanics, and considerably less for Mexican women. Similar disparities exist in level of employment. While the overall income of Mexicans was not lower in comparison to other Hispanics, Mexican women earned considerably less than their non-Mexican counterparts.

Mexicans, according to García and Maldonado (1982), need further delineation because of continuing immigration. That is, Mexicans, who make up 60% of the larger Hispanic group should also be divided into American-born and foreign-born categories (Garcia and Maldonado, 1982:9). Most Mexican immigration is economically driven, and American-born Mexicans are generally of a higher socioeconomic status than more recent immigrants (García and Maldonado, 1982: 12). In fact, "[c]ontrasts between the native and Mexican-born subgroups on employment-related characteristics, in many cases, produce indexes of dissimilarity which are greater than those produced from similar comparisons of Mexicans and other Hispanic origin" (García and Maldonado, 1982: 21). The utility of this distinction in the consideration of education for bilingual populations is doubtful; rather, the statistics on degree of educational and economic success need to account for this factor.

The Programs

Mexicans

California's Spanish speaking population is overwhelmingly of Mexican descent. In "Portillo," which is Delgado-Gaitan's pseudonym for a small town close to Santa Barbara, 31% of the population is Mexican, and most of these Mexicans have been there for at least three generations. Yet, immigration from and contact with Mexico continues. As a result, linguistically, the Mexican community ranges from monolingual speakers of English to monolingual speakers of Spanish with every degree of bilingualism in between. Economically speaking, most Mexicans in Portillo have agricultural or other unskilled work, and this seasonal work does not provide a steady income (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 15).

The Portillo school district provides Spanish-speaking preschool students Spanish English bilingual and Spanish-only programs (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 15). For Spanish-speaking children in elementary school there is both a bilingual program and a Spanish-only program, which is still in the developmental stages. Delgado-Gaitan does not make it clear how children are selected to participate in these programs, or whether they and their parents have a choice.

In her study of home-based and school-based literacy, Delgado-Gaitan observes twenty Mexican second- and third-graders from this program both at school and at home. All spoke Spanish at home. Both parents usually worked; however, because much of their work was seasonal work, the income was not always steady. The median income was less than $13,000. Parental educational experience is limited, as many of the Portillo parents had left school through the need to work after the fourth grade.

This Spanish-only program provides initial literacy instruction in Spanish for Spanish-speaking children. Although the program is restricted to one or two classes, children from the Spanish-only reading classrooms join children from English-only classrooms for ESL instruction (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 17-18). Until students move on to English in fourth grade, all reading work, vocabulary, reading, discussion, and homework assignments is conducted in Spanish. In observations of low and high level reading groups in second-third and third-grade classrooms, Delgado-Gaitan found lots of drilling of vocabulary for what she called "novice" readers (1990: 31-32) and little tolerance on the part of the teachers for interpretive thinking from either novice or more experienced readers. "This search for answers in the text emphasized that the textbook and the teacher were the primary authorities" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 68). The social context of reading lessons that Delgado-Gaitan observed were not conducive to the development of such higher level thinking skills as analysis and interpretation. In fact, both the formulaic nature of the interaction and the reliance on the text for information deterred this kind of development (Delgado-Gaitan, 1989: 292).

While having reading instruction in Spanish may suggest that this program fits under a maintenance model, both the bilingual and Spanish-only programs in Portillo are transitional. After students learn to read in Spanish, they move on to reading in English and move into classrooms where lessons are conducted in English. Teacher attitudes contributed to this image of Spanish as a pit stop. One teacher, for instance, expressed deep concern for her Spanish-speaking third-graders because they would have to learn to read in Spanish before moving on to English; she felt that they were behind and that she needed to be strict with these students in order to insure their progress (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 74). At home the parents of these children speak in Spanish and try to ensure that the children continue to speak Spanish to each other, but there is a shift to the use of English among children after second or third grade (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 84-86).

Although the teachers were Spanish speakers, they seemed to have little contact with or real understanding of their students' parents. The teachers perceived the Mexican parents as not valuing education, not assisting their children with homework, and being generally uncooperative and uninterested (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 121-122). Parents, on the other hand, consistently reported an interest in and were seen to care about educational performance and to encourage their children to do well (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 88, 94). Because of their lack of educational experience and limited proficiency in English, all parents expressed concern that they did not know how best to assist their children with homework. Additionally, because they were not familiar with the American school system, many parents did not know how to ask for help from the schools (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990).

All this is consistent with Lareau's findings on working class white parents' relationships to their children's schools (1987): these majority language parents "rarely initiated contact with teachers," knew little about the school's curriculum, were uninformed about "the specific educational problems of their children," and the parents level of educational attainment influenced their confidence in their ability to help their children (Lareau, 1987: 78-79). Nevertheless, as with Delgado-Gaitan's Mexican parents, these working class Anglos claimed to value success and saw themselves as helping (Lareau, 1987: 81).

Thus the Portillo Spanish-only program is not school-wide but isolated, yet children in this program do have contact with other children during the course of the academic day. Spanish is used in the curriculum as a medium of instruction, and English is the subject of instruction in ESL classes. Spanish comes first in the language and literacy learning sequence, yet the development of Spanish literacy is limited since Spanish is not used after third grade. Additional restrictions are put on the development of Spanish literacy by the materials used for teaching reading in

Spanish in the Portillo district, which are quite limited, particularly when compared to those used in the literature-based reading classrooms for English speaking students in the same district (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990: 18). Spanish was obviously the only language used in the classroom in the Spanish-only program; therefore it covered all functions. (The use of Spanish and English in the ESL classes is not covered in Delgado-Gaitan's work.) The bilingual teachers seem to interact little with the Mexican community. They rarely bring Mexican culture into the classroom and make little use of their students' cultural knowledge. Additionally, the teachers view learning to read in Spanish as something that must be hurried so that students can get to the really important task of learning English.

According to Hornberger's (1990a) revised framework, the Portillo program in isolation might be seen, in terms of sequencing (i.e.: Spanish first, then gradual change to English by third grade) as a maintenance program. If, however, the lack of continued instruction in Spanish and the teacher attitudes are considered, then the Portillo program must be seen as coming from the assimilationist tradition.

In contrast to the Portillo classroom, where "the teacher's approach to literacy instruction emphasized automaticity of vocabulary recognition and text recall comprehension" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1989: 295), Edelsky (1986) describes a very different situation. While this will not be discussed in detail here, it is important to remember that the Portillo program is not representative of all programs available to Mexican children in the United States. In fact, the Spanish-only program is not even the only educational option for the Spanish-speaking Mexicans of Portillo.

Puerto Ricans

Philadelphia is the fifth largest city in the United States, and it offers only one bilingual education program that falls under the enrichment model. The Potter Thomas School, which houses this unique program, is in the middle of North Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community. This Puerto Rican community is now quite large and includes a considerable number of second and third generation families (Hornberger, 1990a: 13). This, combined with the continuing cycle of immigration so common to Puerto Rican communities (Hornberger, 1990b: 214; 1990a: 13-14), results in a Puerto Rican population of mixed linguistic skills and varying degrees of bilingualism. The Puerto Rican community from which Potter Thomas draws many of its students is on the lower end of the economic scale. Hornberger cites School District statistics showing "that 67.7% of the children at Potter Thomas School come from families of low income" (1990a: 14). Linguistically and economically

Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community is quite similar to the Mexican community of Portillo.

Nine percent of the students in the Philadelphia School District are Hispanic, and of the 1,000 children at the Potter Thomas School, 78% fall into that category (Hornberger, 1990b: 212). Note that although the percentage of Hispanic students remains high, throughout the year there is a high turn over in the student body because of the cyclical immigration pattern found in the community (Hornberger, 1990a: 14).

As mentioned above, the bilingual program at the Potter Thomas School is the only one of its kind in Philadelphia. The K-5, school-wide program is two-way in that "Spanish speaking children learn English while maintaining their Spanish, and English speaking children learn Spanish while maintaining their English" (Hornberger, 1990a: 16). At Potter Thomas "both languages and literacies are used for subject matter instruction" (Hornberger, 1990a: 17), and introduction to reading in both languages is not sequenced, but simultaneous. Placement into reading groups is based on reading and second language skills (Hornberger, 1990a: 14), although placement in streams is based on parental reports of home language use (Hornberger, 1990a: 16).

Some teachers are bilingual but not trained in bilingual education, others monolingual in either English or Spanish, and some fully bilingual and trained as bilingual teachers, Spanish monolingual speakers are all either Cuban or Puerto Rican (Hornberger, 1990a: 15).

Language use as allocated in the curriculum is moving progressively towards all instruction in English, with only an hour and a quarter for reading instruction in Spanish by third grade (Hornberger, 1990a: 17). Both Spanish and English speakers begin with L2 instruction (ESL or SSL, as is appropriate) and move to L2 reading classes when proficient in the L2. These reading classes are made up of children from both the Anglo and Latino streams, so that there is no isolation of the two groups (Hornberger, 1990a: 18). Though this implies that Spanish is restricted to reading classes after third grade, in fact, Spanish is often used to give meaning to lessons, "especially, for example, during social studies, science, and mathematics lessons" (Hornberger, 1990a: 19). Observations revealed at least one teacher at Potter Thomas who leaves the choice of language up to the children. In the same teacher's class the use of Spanish in the classroom is only restricted when the task or activity is focused on English, not because Spanish is considered a negative influence on use of English (Hornberger, 1990b: 218-219).

In summary, the Potter Thomas School supplies bi-directional and bilingual education for both Puerto Rican and Anglo children. Spanish-speaking children receive ESL instruction until they can handle English reading classes, and their content classes are given in Spanish until the third grade, when Spanish continues to give meaning to English medium content classes. At the same time, English-dominant children are prepared for Spanish reading through SSL classes. According to Hornberger's (1990a) typology, this program can be seen as an example of the enrichment model of bilingual education.

Cubans

Within Dade County, Florida, several types of schools serve Cuban and Cuban-American children. A range of private institutions joins the public school system, including church affiliated schools, elite private schools, and, what García and Otheguy (1987) call, private "ethnic" schools. The following is a look at two of the educational alternatives available to Cuban-Americans: private, ethnic schools and public schools.

In the 1960s a substantial number of bi-directional bilingual programs for Cuban and Anglo elite sprang. These lost support as it became evident that the Cubans would be staying permanently and not just a short time as originally expected by both the refugees and their Anglo hosts (García and Otheguy, 1986: 6). Just as local support for bilingual education was waning, Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act (BEA); however, the bilingual education mandated by the BEA and the Lau vs. Nichols case "was indeed different from the full, permanent and literate bilingualism for the Anglo and Cuban elites previously promoted by the Dade County public schools" (García and Otheguy, 1986: 7). The federal government required that the minority language, in this case Spanish, be used in the process of making the transition to English, not that it be developed or maintained. While scaled back, the Dade County public school programs go considerably farther than the law demands.

The programs offered for Spanish speakers in the Dade County public schools are quite successful when compared with those of other areas serving other Hispanic populations. Here, students' content classes are taught by monolingual speakers of English. Pull-out instruction in ESOL is provided by another Anglo monolingual English speaker, and Hispanic teachers, usually Cuban, teach content material in Spanish and Spanish Language Arts (García and Otheguy, 1986:7). These Cuban teachers are considered by García and Otheguy an important asset to the public school program. Because most of these teachers received their education in Cuba, they are good, ethnic role models and linguistic models of standard Cuban Spanish. The fact that many of the teachers are monolingual and that English and Spanish are compartmentalized provides opportunities for the development of Spanish skills (1986: 8).

This program of transitional bilingual education based on pull-out instruction is supplemented by two optional Spanish language programs which are not transitional, one designed for Spanish speakers and another providing Spanish as a Second Language instruction (García and Otheguy, 1986: 8). While the very existence of these programs is laudable the results are not spectacular:

> For Spanish speaking children who are either monolingual in Spanish or bilingual in Spanish and English, the program merely promotes limited biliteracy. Although it does appear that Dade County children in these classes develop more literacy in Spanish than other Spanish-speaking groups in the United Sates, they do not compare well either to those studying in private ethnic schools or to those in the native homelands (García and Otheguy, 1986: 9).

The degree of biliteracy may be greater than that found in students of other transitional programs provided by public schools, but given that Spanish is spoken by so many in Dade County and is an integral part of a thriving economic community, it seems reasonable to expect some degree of superiority over communities where Spanish does not hold such status. Perhaps the difference in performance can be attributed entirely to the status of Spanish in Dade County and not to these public school programs at all. The private ethnic schools of Dade County provide an entirely different and, according to García and Otheguy (1987), dramatically more effective curriculum than that offered by the public schools of the area. García and Otheguy (1987) conducted an ethnographic survey of seven of the ten ethnic schools in the Dade County area. According to them, these "low-tuition, non- elite schools" serve Cuban-American children most of whom come from working class families (1987: 84). While some poor children and a few whose parents are professionals attend these schools, the make up of the student population is quite similar, socio-economically, to that in the public schools (García and Otheguy, 1987: 84). Ethnically, the make up is different. Between 80% and 90% of the students are Cuban; the rest of the population is made up of Hispanics from other backgrounds and a few native English speakers, most of them African-American (García and Otheguy, 1987: 38). Parallel to this ethnic difference, there is also a linguistic difference in these ethnic school, in that the majority of the schools' population speak only Spanish when beginning school (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88).

The students are not the only strongly Cuban element in the schools. School owners, principals, and teachers are also Cuban, most The few (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88). Cuban flags, patriotic paraphernalia, and the singing of the Cuban national anthem with "The Star Spangled Banner" before each school assembly all contribute to the Cuban flavor of the schools.

Language use in the ethnic schools is quite complicated. Spanish is used very little as a medium of instruction, only for religious education (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89; 1986: 14). Yet the children are fully expected to acquire full literacy in Spanish: "Literacy in Spanish was expected of all children, and indeed was obtained. The texts used to develop Spanish literacy are most often those used in Cuba twenty-five years ago for Spanish monolingual children..." (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89). Spanish is also taught, as English would be to a population of native speakers, not as a second or foreign language; however, it is accorded special status, having a different teacher for instruction in Spanish language arts. García and Otheguy (1986) cite a number of sources showing that compartmentalization of this sort is conducive to mother tongue maintenance; on the other hand, teachers and school administrators see it as "an effort to protect Spanish and prevent children's natural shift to English give Spanish a specially privileged place in the curriculum" (García and Otheguy, 1986:15).

The use of English in the curriculum is much more extensive. While most of the children speak only Spanish when they come to school, there is no ESL instruction or any other remedial training for the Spanish dominant students (García and Otheguy, 1987: 90). All children, regardless of home language, are instructed in English.

> They took a relaxed, natural approach to teach and develop the English language. They focused not on the structure of English, as most traditional ESL classes at the elementary level do, but instead used English as an instrument of communication. ... At the same time the bilingualism of the teacher and the children was used as an instructional resource. Spanish was often used to help a child gather meaning from something said in English that he didn't understand. English was developed precisely by using Spanish as a meaning-giving resource (García and Otheguy, 1987: 91).

New students, too are placed in the usual English-medium classes, but even for students who speak no English, this cannot be said to be submersion because the teacher and the other children in the class speak Spanish fluently, no matter what their level of English proficiency.

Non-curricular language use in the schools is divided along age lines. Children who come to school in first grade speaking no English are by the third grade beginning to choose English when speaking to one another; it becomes the "language of socialization both in the classroom and in the playground" (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88). Despite this shift from Spanish to English as the language of socialization among children, Spanish continues to be used by children in their dealings with teachers, administrators, and other school staff members (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89).

While the transitional bilingual programs in the public schools may also be said to use Spanish as "a meaning-giving resource" (García and Otheguy, 1987: 91), there are some vital differences between the ethnic school and public school programs. The public schools of Dade County provide limited biliteracy, but the ethnic schools develop full literacy in both Spanish and English by Cuban monolingual and by American monolingual standards respectively. The ethnic schools have a reputation in the community for providing a solid education and teaching good Spanish (García and Otheguy, 1987: 86).

García and Otheguy credit the success in producing biliterate students, not to any curricular features, but to the status of Spanish in the ethnic schools (1987: 89). While English is the language of instruction from the very start and even of socialization after third grade, Spanish remains the language of power, used by authority figures such as teachers, administrators, and staff. The language is respected. The use of Spanish is not seen as supplemental nor as a danger to the supremacy of English. Instead, in these schools English is apt to be seen as endangering Spanish: "Principals and teachers know that English, as the majority language, is acquired naturally by children living in the United States. It is Spanish, they believe, that has to be nurtured, developed, and protected" (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89). According to García and Otheguy, the focus on education instead of on the provision of English proficiency, coupled with the fact that children are not singled out as defective or lacking for speaking Spanish, leads to the success of these ethnic schools (1987: 92-93).

Because the ethnic schools are not "programs" offered to Spanish-speaking children within a school system for "normal," English-speaking students, their education would have to be seen as school-wide. Additionally, because some Anglo children attend these schools and learn Spanish language and literacy, the ethnic schools could be seen as two-way bilingual education; however, they are not intended as enrichment programs. Their goal is clearly maintenance, and the result seems to be bilingualism and biliteracy for Spanish and Anglo students alike. It seems that Dade County's ethnic schools should be seen as enrichment, were it not for the small number of Anglos who take advantage of the programs.

Policy Implications

If high expectations, combined with the understanding that bilingualism is natural and biliteracy is possible, result in the kind of scholastic success enjoyed by Dade County's ethnic schools (García and Otheguy, 1986, 1987), then it seems logical to conclude that the educators attitude towards students, language, and language use is the key to effective education of Spanish-speaking children. A look at several studies of Mexican school children showed that compared to Anglos, Mexican students garnered less praise or other positive feedback and "received more disapproval (unless their dominant language was English) and fewer pieces of non-evaluative academic information" (Avila and Duncan, 1980: 114). There is, then, a connection between a student's dominant language and a teacher's impressions of, expectations for, and behavior toward that student. "It would thus appear that the teacher's perceptions and attitudes may be related to certain linguistic variables, which in turn have an impact on academic performance" (Avila and Duncan, 1980: 114). Teachers' awareness of these perceptions and attitudes towards Spanish, of their resulting behaviors, and of the effect of these behaviors on students could result in a positive change.

Avila and Duncan also showed that ability is seen as a sign of intelligence, so that both teachers and students see skill in reading as an indicator of intelligence even when a low level of proficiency in reading English might be attributed to linguistic difficulties (1980: 114). This negative association, like the attitudes toward Spanish, could change through a raising of consciousness about linguistic attitudes.

Clearly there is some association between Spanish speakers and low socioeconomic status in this case, so that the linguistic variable is not the only one to consider. Solé attributes Cuban academic success to high socioeconomic status. Yet, Delgado-Gaitan would argue against the logical correlate, that low socioeconomic status results in low scholastic success because of the low parental aspirations and the community's devaluation of education.

As we have seen, Delgado-Gaitan would argue with Solés conclusion correlating the level of parental aspirations to socioeconomic status; she would, however, agree with him about the fact that lack of educational experience makes it more difficult to support children's academic endeavors. Laosa's (1978) study of Mexican mothers and their children in California supports this. The study showed that socioeconomic status has less to do with home teaching practices than does the educational achievement/experience of the parents. Laosa found that

> ...mother's education was significantly and positively related to (the use of) inquiry and praise (as teaching strategies) but inversely related to (the use of) modeling. There was also, but for boys' only, a significant inverse relationship between mother's education and negative physical control (Laosa, 1978: 1133).

A similar relationship was found between a mother's teaching strategies and a father's educational level, which correlated closely to the mother's. There was not a significant correlation between occupation, the usual measure of socioeconomic status (Laosa, 1978: 1134), and teaching strategies used by mothers (Laosa, 1978: 1133). Social class is thus no more a good indicator of educational practices at home than it is of parental aspirations for their children.

Parental involvement in the schools is agrguably important to the success of educational programs, but insuring this for educationally inexperienced parents is difficult. Lareau states that "the social profitability of middle-class arrangements is tied to the schools' definition of the proper family-school relationship" (1987: 82). Those parents who understand and conform to these norms give their children an educational advantage. Delgado-Gaitan's (1990) solution is to provide parents with information about these school expectations and with ways of meeting them.

It is not, however, only the parents who need increased information about home-school interactions. Schools and teachers also need to understand the social and linguistic factors influencing parental behavior. Teachers in Portillo assumed that Mexican parents did not care about education because they did not fit the middle class model of a caring parent. Yet, clearly these parents wanted their children to achieve scholastically. Had Portillo teachers and administrators made a point of communicating with the Mexican community, they would have had a better understanding of the situation and perhaps have known how to increase parental involvement. In the end, Portillo's Mexican parents organized themselves and went to the schools. It seems clear, however, that the schools should meet parents half way, particularly when the latter are not familiar with the American system of education.

Of course the lack of public support remains a problem for bilingual education proponents. Hosch (1984) conducted a survey of El Paso residents with varying degrees of involvement in and knowledge of the local bilingual programs. The survey asked a range of questions about the need for and usefulness of bilingual education, the government's responsibility to provide these sorts of programs, the respondents willingness to pay for them, and the racial, ethnic, and linguistic attitudes of the respondents. Differences were not found along ethnic lines; instead, divisions were found between those who did and did not have children in the bilingual education programs.

> These data indicate that the respondents who had children in bilingual education were significantly more likely to believe that bilingual education provides equal opportunity and increases academic achievement for its recipients and being in favor of bilingualism and Spanish language learning and maintenance. They were also less likely to stereotype Mexican-Americans (Hosch, 1984: 22).

Those in favor of social change and those who see the need for changes to make living in our increasingly multicultural society more comfortable, cannot help but see the benefit to the community of this apparent side benefit. Whether the association with bilingual education is the result or the cause of this positive attitude toward Spanish and Mexicans, or whether there is another variable to which the association and the attitude correlate remains in question. It is not clear whether simple contact with bilingual education, and the people involved in it, my idealistic view of the world, it would; I would thus advocate increased exposure to and education about bilingual education and its benefits. Unfortunately that leads to ethical questions about who should make decisions about educational content and whether education of a particular sort should be imposed on those who do not desire it.

Conclusion

As a result of all this consideration of the educational options available to Hispanics we have no definitive answer as to which groups would benefit most by the implementation of which models through which program types. Instead, the only thing clear is that more attention to a variety of factors is needed, both in the planning of programs and in the assessment of their success.

It is more and more painfully obvious that the school cannot be evaluated in isolation. The connection between the school and the community is vital to the success of any educational program for linguistic minorities. The economic, social, and linguistic relationship of the minority community to the wider population must not be neglected.

The success of the ethnic schools of Dade County recommends neighborhood schools, like Philadelphia's Potter Thomas School. This insures that the community controls, at least to some extent, the school's programming. The attitudes found in the school are likely to be more positive both towards the language and its speakers, particularly if teachers are drawn from the community. This also provides positive ethnic role models, reinforces the value of the home language, and gives strength to the educational aspirations of individual parents. The question to look into now is whether this kind of school could thrive in every environment.

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[1] Following Delgado-Gaitan (1990), I will use the term Mexican to refer to all those Americans of Mexican descent, regardless of generation or linguistic considerations.

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Literacy in Brazil:
For what purposes?

Márcia Montenegro Velho

The purpose of this paper is to discuss two literacy programs that were implemented in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s. The first, built on the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, was carried out in the early 1960s. The second program, the Brazilian Literacy Movement (MOBRAL), although created in 1967, wasn't implemented until 1970, and lasted until 1985, when a military government transferred power to civilians. The motivation for discussing these two plans results from their two basic differences. The first difference is related to the programs' philosophical and conceptual bases, while the second difference, a consequence of the first, is the way they were organized and implemented. Before discussing the plans, however, it is necessary to provide some background information about the socio-political situation in Brazil in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Language planning is, ultimately, a political decision which is clearly reflected in the way both of their plans were shaped and developed. After situating the historical context of the two plans, this paper will compare and discuss them within a language planning framework.

Historical Background

Beginning in the early 1950s, the Brazilian government decided to economically modernize the country which was at the time characterized by an essentially agricultural economy. Foreign funds started to flow into the country, and the process of industrialization and urbanization began. This process, however, inevitably contributed to changes in the social structure of the Brazilian society, creating social tensions.

In 1958, the Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast (SUDENE), was established by the federal government with technical and financial support from USAID, the United States Agency for International Development. The purpose of SUDENE was to coordinate a federal program of economic development in the Northeast region. I am focusing on the Northeast region because it reflects very well the political uproar across the country. More than in any other region, the number of leftist movements and the intensity of their actions attracted attention from the national establishment and international organizations.

In 1961, the so-called "Alliance for Progress" was launched by the American government. The Alliance "was a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and `nobility' of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the [Latin] American people, for homes, work, land, and schools" (Page, 1972:12). USAID together with SUDENE was in charge of administering and distributing the American aid.

In 1960 Jânio Quadros was elected president with vast popular support, and there were great expectations for his government. Quadros believed that education was not only a right in itself but a necessity in the Brazilian context, and the problem of adult education was given great attention (Paiva, 1987). Quadros allocated federal funds to that area and during his time in office the Basic Education Movement (MEB) was instituted. Since Brazil is a predominantly Catholic country[1], the organization and coordination of MEB was assigned to the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops - CNBB (Paiva, 1987). MEB used Catholic radio stations as its medium and targeted the North and Northeast, since it was the poorest in the country and had the highest levels of adult illiteracy. MEB concentrated its efforts in rural areas. This movement was identified with radical concepts of social change.

After seven months in the presidency Jânio Quadros resigned, and in August, 1961 the vice-president, João Goulart, took office. He was considered by many to be a leftist, and from the very beginning his government was weakened by a lack of congressional support, and according to Rose and Newson (1982), "In the absence of an effective government, there was no sense of direction and the country drifted" (184).

The National Literacy Plan
(PNA - Plano Nacional de Alfabetização)

At this point we can better situate the work of Paulo Freire. Freire is not only known for his work with adult literacy in Brazil and elsewhere (Chile, Guinea Bissau), but also for his views of what education is, or should be. He was born in the Northeastern state of Pernambuco and the development of his thought was deeply influenced by the social and economic conditions of that region. As Rose and Newson (1982) point out Brazil was, and to a certain extent still is, two countries: the North and Northeast, characterized by an agricultural and aristocratic society, and the Central and Southern, distinguished by an industrial and more democratic society.

As previously mentioned, the industrialization process caused drastic changes in the social structure and inequality sharply increased between those with power and those living at the subsistence level. Paulo Freire understood that the educational system fostered the maintenance of the status quo. For him, the lower classes weren't being educated, but rather domesticated. He believed that only with changes in the social structure could all people live a dignified existence. Freire's thoughts were essentially Marxist and also permeated by Catholic principles. He believed that only through education could a person change his or her life.

In 1954, Paulo Freire started to teach at the University of Recife. It was his belief that the university should be responsible for the spread of education to all people. In 1960, the Popular Culture Movement (*Movimento de Cultura Popular* - MCP) was created in the city of Recife, Pernambuco, by leftist Mayor Miguel Arraes. His ultimate goal was to become governor of the state, and he believed that if he had the support of the lower classes his chances of being elected would significantly increase. Since an illiterate person at that time didn't have the right to vote, he decided to include a literacy program in the Popular Culture Movement. The literacy program, although necessary and justifiable in its own right, was motivated by political interests. Paulo Freire was designated as this adult education program's director, and the program's target was the slum areas of Recife. The work with the MCP was fundamental to the development of the "Paulo Freire Method" of literacy instruction, or *Conscientização* (Consciousness Raising).

In the MCP, the 'Cultural Circles' were created with the objective of offering a new perspective toward learning. The circles were groups in which "instead of a teacher, we had a coordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were broken down and codified into learning units" (Freire, 1986:42).

A basic postulate in Freire's work is that the student comes to the learning process already knowing how to read the "world." What s/he needs to learn is how to read the "word." According to Freire, "there is no such a thing as absolute ignorance or absolute wisdom" (Freire, 1986:43). Illiteracy is not a disease that needs to be cured. It is, rather, "one of the concrete expressions of an unjust social reality. Illiteracy is not a strictly linguistic or exclusively pedagogical or methodological problem. It is political, as is the very literacy through which we try to overcome illiteracy" (Freire, 1985:10). The function of the coordinator is to help the person develop a "critical consciousness", as opposed to a "magical" one, which Freire defines as a process in which we "simply apprehend facts and attribute to them a superior power by which it is controlled and to which it must therefore submit. Magic Consciousness is characterized by fatalism, which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts" (Freire, 1986:44). On the other hand, a consciousness that is critical is "integrated with reality," and so leads to change.

There are three ways in which a critical consciousness can be attained: 1) through dialogue; 2) through a change in the context of education; and 3) through the use of "thematic breakdown" and "codification" (Freire, 1986). Freire defines thematic breakdown and codification, respectively, as "a splitting of themes into their fundamental nuclei, and the representation of a theme in the form of an existential situation" (Freire, 1986: 45).

The Cultural Circles were an essential element of Freire's method, since the literacy programs were implemented through them. They were implemented by university students. The "method" itself is comprised of five phases:

Phase I

The universe of the literacy students is explored through the use of informal interviews, conversations in public places, etc., which results in a list of the most common words used in a given community.

Phase II

Through an analysis of the list of words obtained in Phase I, "generative words" are selected. The list of generative words should observe three criteria:

a. It should be phonemically rich, i.e., have the basic sounds of the language;

b. It should be Phonetically difficult, going from the simplest combination of syllables to the most complex ;

c. The words should have pragmatic content.

One of the main points stressed by Freire is that whatever is going to be taught should be relevant for the learner, related to his or her reality. Paulo Freire indicates that in the traditional literacy syllabus, meaningless and absurd sentences are commonly used, and he questions how these sentences can be of any significance to the learner. He appropriately asks: "how can they [students] critically understand their concrete oppressive situation through a literacy work in which they are instructed with sweetness to learn phrases like 'the wing of the bird' or 'Eva saw the grape'?" (Freire, 1985:9).

Phase III

Codifications are developed. Real life situations are used in order to foment group discussion, so that although the codifications depict everyday situations, they also promote the discussion of problems at the regional and national levels. (Freire, 1986).

Phase IV

An agenda is developed. Up to this point no teaching of specific reading or writing skills has been done. The first eight meetings or so are dedicated solely to group discussions. In the fourth phase, then, the whole group (never more than twenty people), organizes an agenda for the remaining meetings.

Phase V

Teaching materials of two sorts are developed:

a. slides and/or pictures containing all the syllables of the Portuguese language[2]
b. pictures portraying a situation to be discussed

A person could be taught to read and write in forty days using the method outlined above. As Page comments, it was a "revolution in forty days" (Page, 1972:176).

Following the success of his literacy work in the Recife slums, Freire was chosen as the director of the University of Recife Cultural Extension Service (*Serviço Cultural de Extenção* - SEC), which had as its main goal the diffusion of popular education. Up to this point, Freire's actions had been restricted to the municipal level.

In 1963 USAID financed the *Angicos Project* in the city of Angicos, Rio Grande do Norte. Paulo Freire was its coordinator. It became one of the first large scale projects in which Freire's method was used. At the beginning, the project was quite small, but when it was terminated, it had reached approximately four hundred people (Paiva, 1987). On the last day President João Goulart attended some of the classes and praised the project and gave national recognition to the work of Paulo Freire (Jeria, 1984). Interestingly enough, despite the project's success USAID chose not renew its contract which expired in January, 1964.

In 1963 the *First National Literacy Meeting* took place in Recife. Its purpose was two-fold: 1) to determine the number of all literacy movements taking place in Brazil, and 2) to articulate the interchange of ideas and methods among the movements, so that they could be coordinated at the national level (Paiva, 1987). There were forty-four literacy movements at that time, and almost all of them were using Paulo Freire's concepts in one way or another. All of the movements wanted "the advancement of mankind [*promoçau do homen*], the raising of the people's consciousness and the participation in the political life of the country through a non-directive pedagogical action" (Paiva, 1987:251).

The same group that organized the National Literacy Meeting started to work directly with the Minister of Education, Paulo de Tasso, and helped initiate a national literacy campaign. "The federal government would finance and provide technical aid, while the implementation of the program would be given to the local unions and students' associations, which would extend to the whole country the Northeast experience. Using the Paulo Freire Method of adult literacy, the campaign would reach five million people up to 1965" (Paiva, 1987:256). In October, 1963, the National Literacy Committee was established with the objective of elaborating a national literacy campaign. And then, in January 21, 1964, the National Literacy Plan (*Plano Nacional de Alfabetização* - PNA) was instituted[3]. Paulo Freire was chosen as national coordinator of the plan, which had as its goal the creation of 20,000 Cultural Circles throughout the country (Jeria, 1984).

According to Paiva (1987), the PNA was envisioned as a mass literacy program in which the continuity wasn't too important. Its goal was to use Freire's method through the Cultural Circles and help people become literate in forty hours. After the first forty hours the "cultural circles should have been converted to political organizations [not concerned with literacy] for the masses" (Paiva, 1987:258). This position, I would argue, is not consistent with Freire's practice, and in fact, Freire himself contends that "we were planning a post-literacy stage which would only vary as to the curriculum" (Freire, 1986:58).

The literacy plan had many problems, both economic (lack of resources), and political, given the unstable condition of the country. Paulo Freire and the plan itself were accused by politicians, the press and the international establishment of spreading communist ideas. In addition to the political difficulties, Freire encountered problems in the implementation of the plan:

> A major problem in setting the literacy program is instructing the team coordinators. Teaching the purely technical aspect of the procedure is not difficult; the difficulty lies rather in the creation of a new attitude, that of dialogue so absent in your own upbringing and education. (Freire, 1986:52)

Two primers were created. The first one, "*Saber para Viver*" ("To Know is to Live"), was created at the beginning of Freire's work in Pernambuco. The second primer, "*Viver é Lutar*" ("To Live is to Struggle"), was used in the PNA, had a strong impact, and was charged with having communist beliefs:

> In the deteriorating political situation, attacks from the opposition became continuous to the government's policies. The left moved quickly to gain lost terrain, the army was close to a 'Coup d'etat'. On the other hand, the press was accusing the Minister of Education of 'spreading' foreign ideas throughout the country (Jeria, 1984:63).

Despite its promising results, the National Literacy Plan created in January of 1964 was officially terminated in April of that year as a result of a March military coup (Paiva, 1987). All but one of the forty-four literacy movements were also cancelled. The only survivor was the MEB (Basic Education Movement) because of its connection with CNBB (National Conference of Brazilian Bishops). The movement's political orientation, however, was forced to undergo drastic changes in order to survive. Furthermore, not only was the National Literacy Plan extinguished, but most of its documents were lost or destroyed (Brandão, 1985). The plan has been totally dismissed, although it represents an important attempt to eradicate illiteracy in Brazil. It was ignored and never mentioned in the mass literacy program undertaken during the military government and subsequently[4]. This, I will argue, is one of the main obstacles to progress in Brazil, i.e., changes in government inevitably cause changes in policies and programs even if they are being successfully carried out. Individual interests are always subsumed by political interests.

Paulo Freire's own future wasn't promising either. After the coup in June, 1964, he was jailed for his beliefs for seventy-five days, and in September of the same year he chose to leave Brazil, going first to Bolivia and then to Chile, where he stayed until 1969, helping the Chilean government with its literacy campaigns.

MOBRAL - Brazilian Literacy Movement
(Movemento Brasileiro de Alfabetização)

Following the military coup, almost nothing was done in the field of adult literacy. Of the forty-four movements in existence prior to the coup, only MEB, as pointed out above, survived. The termination of the literacy movements can be explained by the fact that the "literacy and adult education programs promoted in the early 1960s were perceived as a threat to the established regime, which wanted to preserve the capitalist order" (Paiva, 1987:259). Under international pressure, mostly from UNESCO, the military government was forced to revive its "interest" in the area of literacy[5]. The years of the technocrats of education had began.

One of the first steps the Brazilian government took was to reactivate the *Cruzada ABC (Ação Básica Cristã)*, or Basic Christian Crusade, which was created in 1962 in Pernambuco with the objective of promoting adult literacy. It was first called "Agnes Promotion" (*Promoção Agnes*), founded by an American Protestant church, and financed through the Agnes Erskine Foundation and USAID. Up to 1965-66, the *Cruzade ABC* had a peripheral role in adult education in the Northeast, precisely because of its foreign origin. With UNESCO pressure, however, the government resolved to revitalize the Crusade, and in August, 1967, an agreement between the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the Crusade was signed. The main purpose of the accord was to extend the Crusade's action to the whole country.

In the *Cruzade ABC*, the illiterate person was perceived as an "economic parasite" and that "only through education could s/he begin to produce and participate in the community" (Paiva,1987:268). Its intentions seemed essentially paternalistic. The underlying goal of the accord between the MEC and the *Cruzade ABC* was to "neutralize" the ideological impact that all previous movements had had. The Crusade used a program of food donation to stimulate participation in its courses, and, in fact, food assistance was given only if the person participated in the classes. The Crusade was discontinued sometime between 1970-1971.

It seems that the MEC-Crusade ABC agreement was only a step during the preparation of a more ambitious program of mass literacy. For the first time, real educational planning took shape in Brazil. Although education was the theme and final objective, the "official decisions were driven by predominantly economic, political and ideological criteria" (Paiva,1987:263). Education was viewed not as a course of individual growth, but rather as a way of accelerating economic development. The educational process was perceived as a "profitable" instrument in the National Developmental Plan (*Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento* - PND), and the "education of adults stood in the first line of attack... it constituted a powerful weapon serving to accelerate development" (MEC, 1971:5).

The direction was chiefly technocratic. The military administration understood that adult illiteracy constituted an impediment to the country's growth and decided to create an official agency which would assume the task of eliminating the "problem" of adult illiteracy. MOBRAL - the Brazilian Literacy Movement (*Movimento Brasileiro de*

Alfabetização) was then established on December 15, 1967. Although it was created in 1967, the program wasn't implemented until September 8, 1970. The architects of MOBRAL understood that the organization would have to be completely independent, which resulted in the establishment of the MOBRAL Foundation[6].

The two main objectives of MOBRAL were, first, to reduce the level of adult illiteracy from 33% (illiterate population aged 15 years and older), and second, to use the eradication of illiteracy as an avenue to economic development (See Appendix 1 for evolution of illiteracy in Brazil and see Appendix 2 for a description of MOBRAL objectives). Among its priorities were: 1) to eradicate illiteracy in urban areas;[7] 2) to reach the population between 15 and 35 years of age; and 3) to give priority literacy programs, rather than to continued education. The rationale behind selecting this population (15-35 year-olds) was "justified by the fact that this group was more likely to return, in terms of increased productivity, the resources invested in its formation during its useful life" (MEC, 1971:15). MOBRAL was financed through resources from the federal government, 30% of the total income of the sports lottery, and through donations from private institutions[8].

MOBRAL was very well structured (See appendix 3 for MOBRAL's central office structure). It was comprised of: 1) the MOBRAL Central Office, which was directed by an economist, and had an engineer as its executive secretary, 2) the Regional Coordinators, 3) the State Coordinators, and 4) the Municipal Boards. The central office had five divisions: 1) Pedagogy, 2) Mobilization, 3) Finance, 4) Supporting Activities, and 5) Research and Training.

The country was then divided into five regions, having Regional Coordinators in charge of each one. Under the Regional Coordinators came the State Coordinators, followed by the Municipal Boards, which were of vital importance to the system, since it was through them that the program was implemented. It was the Municipal Boards' task to enlist the program's students, as well as to provide classrooms, recruit teachers and organize courses (MEC, 1971). In this sense, the Municipal Boards were quite autonomous. According to Tollefson's (1981) classification of language planning processes, the MOBRAL system was decentralized, since it was characterized by a loose degree of coupling at the Municipal Boards level.

A compilation of various methodologies was applied. Interestingly enough, although they had to be approved by the Central Office, the methods used in the program were designed by two publishing companies, which were also in charge of distributing the materials. The materials were: textbooks and drill books, four books for continued education, and the MOBRAL Journal (the only material produced by MOBRAL itself).

The MOBRAL system was composed of two programs: 1) the Functional Literacy Program, and 2) the Integrated Education Program. As referred to above, priority was given to the Functional Literacy Program. This plan was equivalent to the first grade, and lasted five months. After completion of this basic program, the student could continue in the Integrated Program, which had three sections, each one also lasting five months and equivalent to the third, fourth, and fifth grades respectively (Oliveira, 1982).

All MOBRAL documents lengthily discuss the organizational aspect of the system as well as the implementation of the program. Evaluation, however, is almost always done in an obscure fashion. A UNESCO document (1975) identifies two types of evaluation of the system itself. In the first type of evaluation, each level (Central Office, Regional Coordinators, etc.) evaluates the level below. The second type of measure is a self-evaluation (each level evaluates itself) (UNESCO, 1975). When it comes to the evaluation of the results of the program, however, no specific instrument is offered. In their own estimate, MOBRAL's figures show that the level of illiteracy had dropped from 33% in 1970 to 26% in 1973 (UNESCO, 1975), which demonstrated the program's success.

At the end of each Functional Literacy Program, each student was given a certificate, which enabled them to "cross out" from their lives the stigma of being illiterate. This diploma was provided if the person could: 1) "understand the content of texts and phrases read; 2) write texts and phrases with a complete meaning; and 3) solve basic math problems involving length measurement, money values, mass measurement, etc." (Oliveira, 1982). In the realization of the census, however, it is well known that if the person responded that s/he was able to write and read her/his own name and the name of family members, the person was considered literate.

A statement by a Federal Deputy, however, illustrates very well the program's limitations: "it [MOBRAL] was a salesman of illusions and a total economic waste" (Haussman and Hoar, 1978:119). In fact, as Haussman and Hoar point out, when an evaluation of the program was carried out in Pernambuco state in 1973, it was found that "80% of a group of newly literate rural workers had forgotten how to write less than a year after 'graduation'" (Haussman and Hoar, 1978:119). As Fishman correctly comments, "evaluation of policy by those who formulate and implement policy must, by its very nature, be self-serving to some degree" (Fishman, 1979:17)[9].

In 1981, the MOBRAL system underwent drastic changes, being disqualified as a foundation. Finally, in 1985, with the a civilian government, MOBRAL was discontinued and substituted with what was called *Fundação Educar* (Educational Foundation), which did nothing in the realm of adult education. *Fundação Educar*, however, has also been terminated by the new Brazilian president, who is in the process of establishing a new literacy program, *Programa Nacional de Alfabetização e Cidadania* (National Program of Literacy and Citizenship)[10]. This program aims to eliminate illiteracy in Brazil by 1998. According to the Minister of Education, Carlos Chiarelli, this new project will involve the country's universities, which will be in charge of training teachers and developing new methodologies which should take into consideration regional differences The program will make use of radio stations and television, and is expected to last five years. Brazil, in Chiarelli's words, "will become a giant classroom" (Jornal do Brasil, November 21/90).

Conclusion

Language planning is undoubtedly an agent of social change. Literacy, as an acquisition planning effort, fulfills the objective of encouraging the learning of a given language (Cooper,1989). In the presentation of the Brazilian efforts toward eliminating illiteracy, we can see that the programs undertaken first in Paulo Freire's National Literacy Plan, and second by MOBRAL, tried to effect Brazil's social structure, even if simply to maintain the status quo, as in the case of MOBRAL. They weren't in any way philosophically neutral (Cobarrubias, 1983), as no human action can be. As Cobarrubias suggests, "the ethical criteria a given society is willing to adopt seem to depend upon certain ideologies the group in control wishes to endorse. Language-status planning is ultimately contingent upon such ideologies" (Cobarrubias, 1983:41).

The question one has to answer is to what type of ideology one wants to conform: one that maintains inequality or one that combats it; one which fosters the maintenance of an unjust reality, or one engaged with changing it. It appears that the MOBRAL program clearly adopted the first position, while Freire's approach, by its very nature, was engaged with the second position. While the student was perceived as the subject of her/his own change in Freire's program, the student was viewed a an object in the MOBRAL system. While the very literacy process was considered a right on its own and an agent of change in Freire's program, it was considered a means of promoting economic development in the MOBRAL case. While the context of education was one in which the relationship between student and teacher was one of respect, "horizontal", and realized through dialogue in Freire's approach, in the MOBRAL situation the student-teacher relationship was one of dominance, "vertical", and achieved through imposition. Finally, where the results of the literacy process were measured qualitatively in the Freire's approach, they were measured quantitatively in the MOBRAL program, through methods not always trustworthy.

When I decided to compare the MOBRAL program with the program developed by Paulo Freire, I had the naive belief that it would be possible to combine Freire's beliefs, his philosophical and conceptual framework with the actual organization and uncluttered structure of MOBRAL. However, after all the research I have done for this paper and all the ideas that have come with it, I realize that such a combination would be inconsistent with Freire's thought. We cannot liberate and control at the same time. I submit that in Brazil, as long as political concerns prevail over the individual's interests, the educational system will foster the maintenance of the status quo, depicting a clearly unjust and oppressive society.

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[1] The vast majority of the population of Brazil is Catholic.

[2] Freire figured that sixteen words or so would suffice to cover the possible syllabic combinations of Portuguese.

[3] Prior to the creation of the plan, two successful pilot projects were launched, one in the Northeast and the other in the Southeast (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] It is interesting to report a pronouncement of a USAID official: "It [the PNA] wasn't really a literacy program but rather a means of politicizing people. The goal of the method was to arouse the politically apathetic and get them into an uproar" (Page, 1972: 175).

[5] The government expected that through the creation of a literacy program, the United Nations would change the country's status of a "illiterate" country to that of a "literate" one.

[6] MOBRAL continued to be an autonomous foundation until 1981, when it ceased to be independent and became another office of the Ministry of Education (Oliveira, 1982).

[7] At the beginning the target population was that of urban zones. Later, however, the government realized that the rural population had equal needs, and extended the program's actions to those areas.

[8] It is known that the International Monetary Fund (IMF), through the World Bank, also provided funds for MOBRAL.

[9] See Appendix 4 for the figures presented by MOBRAL regarding the program's results for 1971 and estimates for 1972.

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[10] See appendix 5 for the results presented by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), for the evolution of literacy from 1970-1983, and also the figures for 1985. Note that for 1985, the illiteracy rate for the whole country was 22.3%. This figure, however, does not portray the reality, since, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper, we cannot consider literate a person who can only read and write her/his own name. Just to illustrate my point, one of the questions in the 1980 census conducted by IBGE, asked if the person "had learned to read and write but had forgotten." The question by itself is harmless, but in the total computation, that person was considered "literate," if the answer to the question has been "yes."

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Appendix 1

Evolution of Illiteracy in Brazil

Year	population 15 years old and up	illiterates 15 years old and up	%
1940	23,629,769	13,279,899	56
1950	30,249,423	15,272,432	50
1960	40,187,590	15,815,903	39
1970	54,338,606	17,936,887	33

Year	population 15 - 39 years old	illiterates 15 - 39 years old	%
1940	16,515,330	8,937,282	54
1950	20,911,777	9.964,060	46
1960	27,017,011	9,422,610	35
1970	35,954,488	9,911,744	28

Source: Adult Education in Brazil, 1971, Ministério da Educação e Cultura:14.

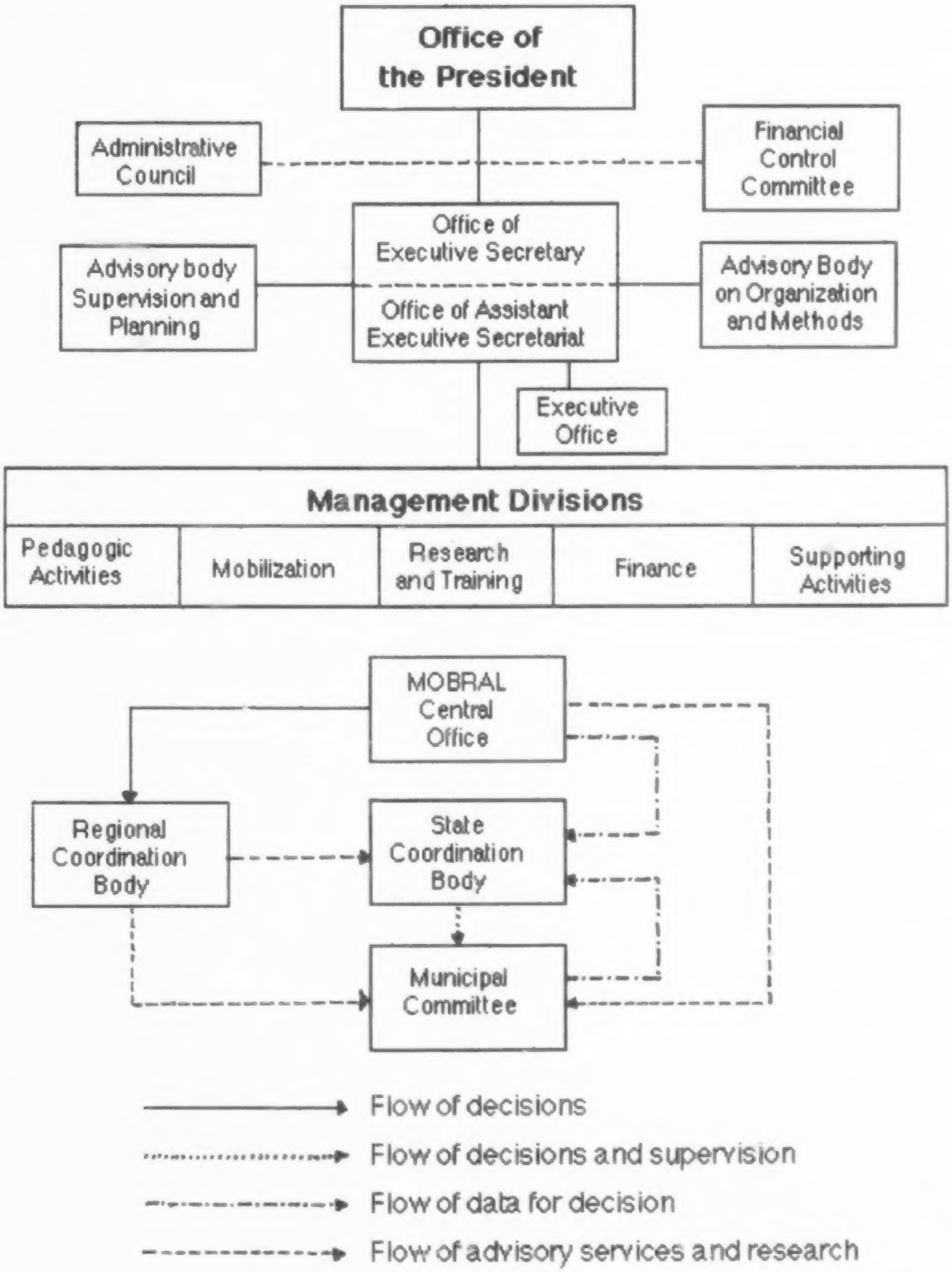
Appendix 2
MOBRAL Objectives

1. Develop in the students the reading, writing and calculation skills
2. Develop a vocabulary that allows for the enrichment of the students
3. Develop the students' reasoning, aiming to favor the solution of their personal and community problems
4. Develop positive attitudes and manners regarding working
5. Develop creativity, aiming for the improvement of life conditions through the use of the available resources
6. Induce the students to:
    - know their rights and duties and the best ways of community participation
    - engage themselves in maintaining good health and improving the conditions of personal, family and community cleanliness
    - know their personal responsibility in the maintenance and improvement of the public institutions and goals of the community
    - participate in the community development, focusing on people's welfare.

Source: Oliveira, 1982:160-1.

Appendix 3

Structure of the MOBRAL Central Office


Office of the President
Administrative Council
Financial Control Committee
Office of Executive Secretary
Office of Assistant Executive Secretarial
Advisory body Supervision and Planning
Advisory Body on Organization and Methods
Executive Office
Management Divisions
Pedagogic Activities
Mobilization
Research and Training
Finance
Supporting Activities
MOBRAL Central Office
Regional Coordination Body
State Coordination Body
Municipal Committee
Flow of decisions
Flow of decisions and supervision
Flow of data for decision
Flow of advisory services and research

Source: UNESCO, 1975:20-21.

Appendix 4

1970

Region	Students under contract
North	21,386
Northeast	121,889
Southeast	247,036
South	77,149
Middle-West	42,880
Brazil	510,340

1971

Region	Students under contract	Students who became literate
North	56,537	18,261
Northeast	1,336,662	558,725
Southeast	686,163	292,992
South	414,232	169,007
Middle-West	75,268	32,109
Brazil	2,569,662	1,071,094

Estimated Preliminary Goals

Region	Students under contract	Students who became literate
North	228,167	103,382
Northeast	1,944,841	1,100,805
Southeast	1,269,510	703,608
South	504,429	243,854
Middle-West	296,803	137,181
Brazil	4,243,750	2,288,830

Source: Adult Education in Brazil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1971:20-21.

Appendix 5

Literacy Rates by Region, Selected years: 1970-1983

	Urban	Rural	Total
1970	79.5	46.1	65.9
1980	83.1	53.7	74.5
1982			
All of Brazil	84.0	57.0	76.9
Northeast	71.1	41.6	58.0
Rest of Brazil	87.3	70.3	84.0
1983			
All of Brazil	84.8	59.6	78.1
Northeast	71.6	42.2	58.9
Rest of Brazil	88.3	74.7	85.2

Source: Winkler, 1986:57.

1985

	Illiterate Population	% of total population
Females	10,038	23.5
Males	9,047	21.0
Total	19,085	22.3

Source: Wilkie,1988: 156.